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THE LEGEND OF THE TOPES
(THŪPAVAṂSA)

Translated into English for the first time

BY

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PREFACE

The Legend of the Topes is the title adopted for the first English translation of the *Thūpavaṃsa.* For the sake of convenience it has been divided into two books, the first dealing with the legend of the Thūpas (topes, relic shrines or places, dagobas) in India and the second, with that of the Thūpas (topes) in Ceylon. The translator's task has neither been pleasant nor easy especially on account of the pedantic prose style of the text compiled in Ceylon by Vācissara Thera, a pupil of Sāriputta, who lived in the reign of King Parakkamabāhu I (A.D. 1153–86). Vācissara was appointed by Parakkamabāhu as the librarian of his Dhammāgāra:

Parakkama-narindassa sabba-bhūpāla-ketuno |
dhammāgāre niyutto yo Piṭakattayapārago ||

In the introductory verses the author of the *Thūpavaṃsa* tells us that the work having at first been compiled in the Sinhalese language was not accessible to all. Even the earlier Māgadhī (i.e. Pāli) version prepared for the benefit of all was full of defective arrangement and language and it left out many things that ought to have been narrated. In order to remove these defects in the earlier Māgadhī version the author undertook to do the work again:

Vākkena Sīhala-bhāvena 'bhisaṅkhatattā |
atthaṃ na sādhayati sabbajanassa sammā ||
Yasmā ca Māgadha-niruttikato 'pi Thūpa- |
vaṃso viruddha-naya-sadda-samākulo so, ||
vattabban eva ca bahuṃ pi yato na vuttaṃ, |
tasmā ahaṃ punapi Vaṃsaṃ imaṃ vadāmi ||

To readers of the *Nikāyas,* the *Jātaka Nidāna-kathā,* the *Dīpavaṃsa,* the *Mahāvaṃsa,* the *Samantapāsādikā,* and the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī,* there is nothing new to be learnt from the *Thūpavaṃsa* as regards the Thūpas in India and those erected in Ceylon up till the reign of King Duṭṭhagāmaṇi. The story of Sumedha, the stories of the former Buddhas headed by Dīpaṅkara, the early life of the Bodhisatta, the life of the Buddha, etc., are all thrice-told old tales. The only interesting point to be noticed in the whole work is the setting out of legendary materials having their bearings upon the history of the Thūpas.

Though the earlier Pāli text is no longer extant, it is not difficult to estimate the nature of the linguistic improvement effected by Vācissara by comparing his version of the *Thūpavaṃsa* with parallel passages as found in the *Samantapāsādikā* or the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī.* Here two instances will suffice for the purpose.

I. (*a*) Devānampiyatisso mahārājā 'pi kho Sumanasāmaṇerassa vacanena māgasiramāsassa paṭhamapāṭipadadivasato pabhuti uttara-dvārato paṭṭhāya yāva Jambukolapaṭṭanaṃ maggaṃ sodhāpetvā alaṃ-kārāpetvā nagarato nikkhamana-divase (*Samantapāsādikā,* i, p. 98)..

(*b*) Devānampiyatissa-mahārājā 'pi uttaradvārato patthāya yāva Jambukolapattanā maggaṃ sodhāpetvā alaṅkārāpetvā nagarato nikkhamana-divase (*Thūpavaṃsa*, p. 53).

II. (*a*) Tena ca samayena rājadhītā Saṃghamittā 'pi tasmiṃ yeva ṭhāne ṭhitā hoti tassā ca sāmiko Aggibrahmā nāma kumāro . . . Rājā taṃ disvā āha (*Samantapāsādikā*, i, p. 51).

(*b*) Tena ca samayena rājadhītā Saṅghamittā 'pi tasmiṃ ṭhāne ṭhitā hoti, taṃ disvā āha (*Thūpavaṃsa*, p. 42).

In the *Thūpavaṃsa* we find that Thera Moggaliputta Tissa sent elders to different parts of India for the propagation of the Buddhist faith. Thera Mahinda and Therī Saṅghamittā, son and daughter respectively of Asoka, were instrumental in propagating Buddhism in Ceylon. The *Mahāvaṃsa* also states the same thing and it further says that Moggaliputta Tissa Thera was a contemporary of Asoka and that he presided over the Buddhist Council held under the patronage of Asoka. According to the *Mahāvaṃsa* and the *Thūpavaṃsa*, the theras (elders) were sent by Moggaliputta Tissa to different parts of India at his own initiative. There is no mention of Asoka having taken any part in this activity, though such an important event occurred during his time and in his kingdom mainly. In his Rock Edict XIII Asoka says that he sent ambassadors to countries in India and outside. In his Rock Edict II he says that he provided for the distribution of medicines in different countries. In both the edicts Asoka mentions Tāmraparṇī (Ceylon). How are we to reconcile these two accounts which we find in the *Mahāvaṃsa* and the *Thūpavaṃsa* on the one hand and the lithic records of Asoka on the other ? Geiger points out that before Mahinda relations existed between continental India and Ceylon and efforts were made to transplant the Buddhist doctrine to Ceylon. But with Mahinda this process came to a successful end. On the evidence of the *Mahābhārata* and Hiuen Tsang we may seek to establish that Asoka's Tāmraparṇī corresponding to the Malayakūṭa of the Chinese pilgrim was a country in the southern extremity of South India on the eastern side of the Malabar Hills below Drāviḍa and Pāṇḍya and that it was from here that Mahinda went across to Ceylon—the island of Tāmraparṇī. It should be noted that Mahinda's mission is said to have been preceded by similar missions to Ceylon. The *Dīpavaṃsa* and the *Mahāvaṃsa* relate that Asoka exhorted Devānampiyatissa to adhere to the doctrine of the Buddha. The history of the success of Buddhism both in India and outside was largely due to the support it received from kings like Bimbisāra, Prasenajita, Asoka, Kaniṣka, Harṣavardhana and also the Pāla kings of Bengal. If it did not receive royal patronage it would surely have met the same fate as Jainism did. Taking this important fact into consideration we are not unjustified to say that Asoka must have lent ungrudging help to Moggaliputta Tissa.

It will not be unreasonable to say that there were no two separate attempts made but a single attempt was made for the propagation of the Buddhist faith and that in this attempt both Asoka and Moggaliputta

Tissa played important parts. But why the names of Asoka and Moggaliputta Tissa are absent in the Ceylonese Chronicles and the inscriptions of Asoka? The history of the missions as related in the *Dīpavaṃsa*, *Mahāvaṃsa* and *Thūpavaṃsa* receives the most striking confirmation in the inscriptions. The names of the theras Majjhima and Kassapagotta occur in the Bhilsā topes (Sāñcī and Sonāri groups) as teachers of the Himalayas. The name of Moggaliputta Tissa also occurs in the Sāñcī group. Geiger in an ingenious and convincing way has shown that the accounts which we find in the inscriptions of Asoka as well as in the Ceylonese Chronicles are not untrustworthy. It is clear from what Geiger says that two separate attempts were made to propagate Buddhism in the time of Asoka. The first attempt was made by the king himself and the second attempt was made by Moggaliputta Tissa who was at that time the head of the Buddhist Church after the Third Council was over. In a general way Asoka says that he sent ambassadors who were undoubtedly Buddhist monks to different countries. He makes no mention of his son and daughter who did great service to the cause of Buddhism. He must have sent ambassadors in collaboration with the leading elders of the time. It will be unjust to accuse such a great king as Asoka that he intentionally out of self-complacency and self-conceit did not mention Moggaliputta Tissa and other leading theras. But such is not the case with the authors of the Ceylonese Chronicles. They have intentionally excluded the name of Asoka and thereby have enhanced the position of the Buddhist Saṃgha and the prestige of its leaders.

A brief résumé of the contents of the *Thūpavaṃsa* will no doubt be interesting. The author justifies his composition of the text in Pāli when there are already two other versions, one in the Sinhalese language and the other in the Māgadhī, by saying that the Sinhalese version is not for the good of all and that the Māgadhī version is not exhaustive and is full of contradictory words.

The author has very well explained the meaning of *Thūpa* and then gives a detailed account of the Buddhas who appeared in this earth for the salvation of mankind. He sums up the life of the Buddha Gotama in a masterly way and gives a detailed account of the topes which were erected over the bodily relics of the Buddha with their later history.

The Buddha Gotama passed through successive births during the period in which the twenty-four Buddhas beginning with Dīpaṅkara appeared in this earth.

The author then gives reason why Gotama was bent upon renouncing the world. Gotama gradually became fully enlightened and began his preaching career.

An account has been given of the life of the Buddha till his passing away from the world together with the distribution of the bodily remains of the Blessed One amongst the different tribes, King Ajātasattu of Magadha, and a Brāhmin named Doṇa. The relics were divided into eight equal

portions. The Brāhmin Doṇa kept for himself the teeth of the Master without telling others about it.

The author then gives a detailed account of the eighty-four thousand *cetiyas* (topes) built over the relics of the Buddha at the time of Asoka.

The Thera Moggaliputta Tissa in order to propagate Buddha's *Dhamma* sent missionaries to different places. King Devānampiyatissa built topes throughout the island of Laṅkā.

Devānampiyatissa was followed by a succession of rulers, one of whom named Suratissa was defeated by the Damiḷas who usurped the throne of Laṅkā for some time. The Damiḷas were overpowered by Asela but a Damiḷa named Eḷāra came over to Laṅkā from the Coḷa country, defeated and killed Asela and became the king of Ceylon. Eḷāra could not rule long because he was defeated and killed by Duṭṭhagāmaṇi. The island of Ceylon was then under the yoke of the Damiḷas. Duṭṭhagāmaṇi expressed his desire to fight with them but his father did not permit him to do so. He resolved to free the country from the yoke of the Damiḷas and marched with a mighty army against them. He was successful in defeating and killing the thirty-two Damiḷa kings, the greatest of them being Eḷāra and thus freed the country from the foreign domination. He became the undisputed ruler of Laṅkā. He devoted himself to promote the weal and happiness of his subjects and the interests of the Buddhist Saṃgha. He built a vihāra over the relic and the spear with which he marched against the Damiḷas and routed them. The vihāra was dedicated to the Buddhist Saṃgha. Duṭṭhagāmaṇi was very anxious to build the great tope (Mahāthūpa) without oppressing the people by levying taxes from them. The foundation stone was laid with great care. In the relic-chamber the king placed a Bodhi-tree and in the same chamber were depicted the setting in motion of the Wheel of the Doctrine by the Buddha and many other scenes connected with the life of the Master. Duṭṭhagāmaṇi fell seriously ill before the completion of the work of constructing the Mahāthūpa, which task was entrusted by him to his brother Tissa to complete.

The *Thūpavaṃsa* is undoubtedly one of the products of the decadent period of Pāli literature in Ceylon. It is lacking in originality and the atmosphere of life it creates is dull and monotonous. Its English translation may, nevertheless, help the reader to understand and appreciate a Pāli traditional work of the late mediaeval period, to crack the hard nut of the stereotyped and highly conventionalized prose of scholastic writings.

In 1935 the Pāli Text Society of England published my edition of the *Thūpavaṃsa*. I am thankful to the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal for including my English translation of this text in their *Bibliotheca Indica Series*.

CALCUTTA, BIMALA CHURN LAW.
43 KAILAS BOSE STREET.
9th August, 1945.

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THE LEGEND OF THE TOPES

(*THŪPAVAṂSA*)

Adoration to the Blessed One, Arahant, Supreme Buddha!

BOOK I (TOPES OF INDIA)

CHAPTER I

THE ACCOUNT OF THE ASPIRATION

'For the welfare of the world I create an image of the Conqueror and bow down paying homage to that most wonderful tope wherein lay, on all sides, the Conqueror's noble relics resplendent with the combined radiance of the six-coloured rays.

I shall relate the Legend [1] of the Topes which brings welfare to the whole world, is a cause of joy to all beings, is always adored by the best of the gods, demons and lords of men and is a shining heap of jewels.

Though this was done formerly by a saintly person for the benefit of the people of Ceylon, it did not [2] serve well the purpose of all people inasmuch as it was composed in the Sinhalese language.

And because the Legend of the Topes was also composed in the Māgadhī dialect, and is contradictory in sense and confused in words, and also because many things which should have been said have not been said (in it), I therefore relate this Legend again.

Pay heed, ye all good ones, while I relate well, complete and undistorted, Legend of the Teacher's Topes.'

1. Herein the expression 'I shall relate the Legend of the Topes', a shrine [3] which is built and erected after depositing the relics of the Buddha and the rest who are worthy of *Thūpas*, as follows from the dictum—a Tathāgata,[4] Arahant, Supreme Buddha is worthy of a Thūpa; a Pacceka-

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[1] *Vaṃsa* means race, family, lineage, dynasty, tradition, legend, chronicle, and hereditary custom. Legend will be the most appropriate here.

[2] Lit., does not.

[3] *Cetiya* (= sepulchral monument), B. C. Law, *Cetiya in the Buddhist Literature* published in *Studia Indo-Iranica Ehrengabe*, für W. Geiger, 1931.

[4] On this term *vide* the translator's *A History of Pāli Literature*, II, 411f. *Tathāgata* by Robert Chalmers, *JRAS.*, January 1898, pp. 311 foll.; *Tathāgata* by Walleser in the *Journal of the Taisho University*, 1930. It is an epithet for the Buddha or the Enlightened One. It means: (*a*) one who has come in the same way, (*b*) one who has gone in the same way, (*c*) one who is endowed with the sign of truth (*tathā*), (*d*) one who is supremely enlightened in *tathādhamma* (truth), (*e*) one who has seen truth, (*f*) one who preaches truth, (*g*) one who does truthfully, and (*h*) one who overcomes all

ought to clear the road for the arrival of him of the ten powers [1] together with these people.' To those people he said: 'If you clear this road for the Enlightened One give me also a space.[2] I, too, will clear the road with you.' Saying: 'Very well', they consented and thought: 'This Sumedha the wise is highly psychic and majestic.' Knowing that it was hard to clean and was mixed up with water and very rough, they allotted to him a space and said: 'Please clear this space, make it fit.' Sumedha the wise produced joy concentrating his thought upon the Enlightened One and pondered: 'I am certainly able to make this space most beautiful by psychic means [3] but if it is done so, it would not satisfy me; on the other hand, I ought to render service with physical labour today.' He began to fill that part of the road with dust.

6. Even although he had not cleansed that part of the road, but had left it unfinished, the time being already announced by the dwellers of the city of Ramma, he of the ten powers dressed himself covering the three circles with the robe of double cloth and of the colour of the wild jasmine flower; and he fastened his girdle, resplendent like a flash of lightning, as one would encircle a bunch of flowers by a gold band. And as one would sprinkle the essence of lac all over the summit of a golden mountain, or surround a golden shrine with a coral net, or bind a garland of gold with a red woollen thread, or conceal the moon in the autumn season by a red cloud, so he clothed himself with an excellent red robe made of rags taken from dust heaps and dyed with the essence of lac [4] and having the (red) colour of *kiṃsuka* flowers [5] and came out from the door of the Perfumed

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[1] *Dasabala* is an epithet of the Buddha. *Dasabalas* or ten powers or potentialities. The ten *balas* or forces belonging to a Buddha are ten kinds of knowledge. They are as follows:—

(1) Knowledge of the cause and the non-cause.
(2) ,, ,, past, present and future *Kammas*.
(3) ,, ,, the way leading to all directions.
(4) ,, ,, diverse nature of persons.
(5) ,, ,, inclination of other beings.
(6) ,, ,, senses of other beings.
(7) ,, ,, meditation, concentration, emancipation, attainments and freedom from impurities.
(8) ,, ,, remembering previous births.
(9) ,, ,, the birth and death of beings.
(10) ,, ,, the extinction of sins.

[2] The word *Okāsa* may also mean 'chance'; see *Aṅguttara*, I, 253; IV, 449; *Jātaka*, IV, 413; *Petavatthu-aṭṭhakathā*, 63, etc.

[3] *Iddhiyā* (psychic means): Mrs. Rhys Davids gives the following meanings of the word '*iddhi*': supernormal capacity (*Gotama the Man*, p. 110), extraordinary will-power (*ibid.*, p. 123) and super-will (*ibid.*, p. 221). *Iddhi* is divided into four heads: (1) the word, (2) the energy put forth, (3) a leading idea, and (4) the working mind (*ibid.*, pp. 221-2). It really means miraculous power.

[4] Cf. Sekhiyas 1, 2 (*Vin.*, IV, 185); see *Jāt.*, V, 215; VI, 269; *Theragāthā-aṭṭhakathā*, 270.

[5] Lit., 'Whatever-like' or 'What do you call it', a strange tree, probably the *Butea frondosa*, see *Saṃyutta*, IV, 193; *Jāt*,. II, 265; V, 405.

Chamber, as a lion from a golden cave. Like the Thousand-Eyed[1] surrounded by gods, or like the Great Brahmā surrounded by Brahmās, he too, surrounded by the four hundred thousand cankerwaned even among those who had the sixfold higher knowledge,[2] entered upon the decorated and fitted out road, with the incomparable grace of an Enlightened One, boundless and suitable to the occasion and produced by the force of his goodness, even as the moon in the autumn season, surrounded by innumerable stars (would enter upon) the expanse of the heavens.

7. As Dīpaṅkara the Blessed One was approaching by that decorated and fitted out road, Sumedha the hermit, too, looked at his most beautiful appearance adorned with the thirty-two excellent marks[3] and characterized by the eighty minor marks and resplendent with a halo extending for a fathom around him and emitting the six-coloured rays of a Buddha, like various lightnings in the sky having the colour of a sapphire gem, and thought: 'Today I ought to sacrifice my life to him of the ten powers. Let the Blessed One not tread in the mire; let him pass together with the four hundred thousand cankerwaned, stepping upon my back, as one would step upon a bridge of slabs made of gems; it will be for my welfare and happiness for a long time.' Loosening his hair and spreading his cloak of skin and matted hair and his garment of bark in the mire, he lay down there in the mire. And as he lay down he thought: 'If I wish, I may destroy all my sins, and enter the city of Ramma as one newly ordained in the order. But there is nothing to be done for the attainment of Nirvāṇa, if I, in disguise, destroy my sins. What if I, like Dīpaṅkara, he of the ten powers, having attained the utmost and highest enlightenment and got ready the ship of *dhamma*,[4] and made the multitude cross over the ocean of existence, should wane out utterly? This will be befitting me.' Combining the eight qualities,[5] he made a resolve to become an enlightened one and lay down.

8. Dīpaṅkara the Blessed One came also and when he stood near the head of Sumedha the hermit, and saw the hermit lying down in the mire, he reflected: 'Here lies this hermit making a resolve to become an Enlightened One; will his aspiration reach its fulfilment or not?' Knowing: 'In the future he will become an Enlightened One named Gotama', even when he was standing there, he predicted in the midst of the assembly: 'Do you see, you monks, this hermit of austere ascetic practice lying in the mire?' 'Even so, venerable sir.' 'He lies here making a resolve to become an Enlightened One; his aspiration will reach its fulfilment a hundred

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[1] An epithet of Indra.

[2] The six *abhiññās* are effective will, *deva*-eye, *deva*-ear, knowledge of reading the thoughts of others, knowledge of former lives, knowledge of waning out of the *āsavas* (cankers). See *Dīgha Nikāya*, III, 281; cf. my *Lineage of Buddhas*, p. 23, note 1.

[3] For details, see the *Lakkhaṇa Suttanta* in *Dīgha Nikāya*, III; Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, pp. 62 foll.

[4] B. C. Law, *Concepts of Buddhism*, Chapter X, for a clear exposition of *dhamma*.

[5] For these eight, see the translator's *Lineage of Buddhas*, p. 12.

thousand aeons and four incalculable periods, hence he will become an Enlightened One named Gotama.' He predicted all (this).

Verily this has been said in the *Buddhavaṃsa* [1]: 'Dīpaṅkara, knower of the world, recipient of offerings, standing near my head, spoke these words:

"See ye this hermit of austere ascetic practice with matted hair. Countless aeons hence he will become an Enlightened One in the world.

Lo! departing from the pleasant city of Kapila, a Tathāgata, setting up exertion,[2] having wrought what is hard to do;

a Tathāgata seated at the foot of the Goat-herd tree, there accepting rice-gruel, must approach the Nerañjarā;

on the bank of the Nerañjarā,[3] having partaken of the rice-gruel, the Conqueror must come to the foot of the Bo-tree by the excellent way prepared."

Then going round the Bo-circle, the unrivalled and glorious one will be enlightened at the foot of an Assattha tree.

The mother bearing him will be called Māyā, Suddhodana the father, and this (man) will become known as Gotama.

The cankerwaned, pure, calm-minded and steadfast Kolita and Upatissa will become the chief disciples.'

The attendant named Ānanda will attend upon that Conqueror. Khemā and Uppalavaṇṇā [4] will become the chief female disciples, cankerwaned, pure, calm-minded and steadfast. The Bo-tree of that Blessed One is called the Assattha.

Here ends the account of the aspiration.

CHAPTER II

THE ACCOUNT OF THE EXISTING TOPES

1. Dīpaṅkara, he of the ten powers,[5] praised the Bodhisatta and worshipped him with eight handfuls of flowers, went round him and departed. And those four hundred thousand cankerwaned also worshipped the Bodhisatta with flowers and perfumes, went round him and departed.

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[1] *Buddhavaṃsa*, II, vv. 60-61; cf. also *Jātaka*, I, p. 15.

[2] Cf. *Dīgha*, III, 30, 77, 104, 108, 214, 238; *Jāt.*, I, 190; *Suttanipāta*, 424, 428, etc. It is fourfold: *Saṃvara* (restraint of one's senses), *pahāṇa* (abandonment of sinful thoughts), *bhāvanā* (meditation), and *anurakkhaṇā* (keeping one's character).

[3] It is the Phalgu river. It has two branches: the Nīlājanā and the Mohanā and their united stream is called Phalgu. Buddhagayā is situated at a short distance to the west of the Nīlājanā or Nirañjanā which has its source near Simeria in the district of Hazaribagh.

[4] B. C. Law, *Women in Buddhist Literature*, pp. 60, 61, 65, 85, 91, 99, 100, etc.

[5] Here the expression *tato Dīpaṅkaro dasabalo* has the same honorific significance as *tato bhavān, tatra bhavān, sa bhavān*.

Gods and men in like manner worshipped him and paid their homage, and departed.

2. When he heard the prediction of him of the ten powers, the Bodhisatta thought that the state of enlightenment came, as it were, into his possession, and he became delighted at heart. When all had gone away, he rose from his lying posture and sat down cross-legged on the top of the heap of flowers. As he reflected on the things that go to make an Enlightened One he thought: 'Wherein do these things that go to make an Enlightened One lie? Are they (to be found) above, below, in the four quarters, or in the (ten) directions?' As he gradually examined all the principles of *dhamma*, and found that the first perfectionary virtue of 'giving'[1] (*dāna*) was practised and enjoyed by the Bodhisattas of old, he laid a strong hold thereon, and gradually finding (other) perfectionary virtues in morality, renunciation, wisdom, energy, forbearance, truth, resolution, friendliness and equanimity, he laid strong hold thereon, and being praised by the gods, he rising aloft in the air, went back even to the Himavant.

3. And the teacher Dīpaṅkara, surrounded by the four hundred thousand cankerwaned, and worshipped by the dwellers of the city of Ramma, and greeted by the gods, entered the city of Ramma[2] by the decorated and fitted out road, and sat down on the excellent seat laid out for the Enlightened One. The older of monks, too, sat down on their respective seats as these were available. The lay worshippers dwelling in the city of Ramma also made a great gift to the order of monks headed by the Enlightened One, and when the Blessed One had finished his meal and

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[1] *Dānapāramī.*

Pāramī is the same term as *pāramitā* and both occur side by side in Dhammapāla's Commentary on the *Cariyāpiṭaka* (*Cariyāpiṭaka aṭṭhakathā*, Sinhalese Ed., p. 7). The bulk of Pāli works shows predilection for *pāramī* and that of Sanskrit Buddhist works for *pāramitā*. The term *pāramī* is employed as a synonym of *Buddhakarādhammā*, the virtues or qualities that tend towards making a Buddha, i.e. maturing the life of a *Bodhisatta* for the attainment of Buddhahood in his last birth. As far back as the second century B.C. *pāramī* was treated as another term for *Buddhakarā* or *Buddhakārakādhammā*. There are ten perfections or perfectionary virtues and each of them is practised in three degrees of intensity. The Mahāyāna Buddhist texts are replete with information regarding the fulfilment of *pāramitās* by the *Bodhisatta*. A *Bodhisatta* never gets tired of practising the ten virtues of perfection. He has to fulfil ten *pāramīs* in order to obtain enlightenment. Cf. *Jātakamālā*, *Mahāvastu* (Vānara Jātaka, Mahāgovindacariyaṃ) and *Avadānakalpalatā* (*Sivi*, *Sasa*, *Matsya*, *Vaṭṭapotaka*, *Ruru* and *Sutasoma*). Really speaking the *pāramitā* doctrine had its root in the age-old Indian conception of faith (*saddhā*) particularly as developed in a sutta of the *Majjhimanikāya*. Its main importance lies in its bearing on the problem of the evolution of personality whether of Buddha type or of the *sāvaka* or of the *Paccekabuddha*. In raising the importance of the moral excellence of Buddhist personalities, the doctrine had necessarily to lay stress on the prolonged character of strivings, and in doing so, it destroyed the belief in the immediate prospects held out by Gotama and transferred the possibility of final fruition to an indefinitely long date. (B. C. Law, *Concepts of Buddhism*, Chapter II; Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, pp. 20 and 66.)

[2] Cf. *Dāṭhāvaṃsa* (ed. B. C. Law), I, vv. 18 and 19.

had taken his hands from the bowl, they worshipped him with garlands and perfumes and the like, and sat down anxious to hear his approval of the gifts. And the Blessed One, while approving of them, spoke on the subjects of giving, morality, and heaven, on the dangers of sense-desires, on folly, defilement and on the advantage in renunciation,[1] and he preached the doctrine leading to immortality. When he had thus preached the doctrine to the multitude, he established some of them in the refuges,[2] some in the five moral precepts, some in the fruit of a stream-winner, some in the fruit of a once-returner, some in the fruit of a non-returner, some also in the four fruits, some also in the threefold knowledge, some in the sixfold higher knowledge, and some in the eight higher attainments.[3] He then rose from his seat and left the city of Ramma, and entered the great monastery of Sudassana.

Verily this has been said[4]: 'Then they, having entertained the leader of the world together with the order, took refuge in the teacher Dīpaṅkara.

The Tathāgata established some in taking refuges, some in the five moral precepts and the rest in the supreme tenfold morality.[5]

To one he offered recluseship consisting in the four best fruits.[6] To another he gave the unrivalled things of analytical knowledge.[7]

To one the bull of men gave the eight excellent attainments. He who was endowed with the sixfold higher knowledge, bestowed on another the three kinds of knowledge.

In this way, the great sage instructed the multitude. Thereby the teaching of the world-lord was widespread.

He of the mighty jaw and broad-shoulder, by name Dīpaṅkara, saved many people and set (them) free from misery.

Even as far as a hundred thousand *yojanas*,[8] the great sage, seeing folk ripe for enlightenment, would approach them instantly and enlighten them.'

4. Thus the Teacher Dīpaṅkara lived for a hundred thousand years setting beings free from bonds (of existence), and when he had accomplished all the duties of an Enlightened One, he, in Nanda's monastery, waned out

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[1] Cf. *Vinayapiṭaka* (PTS. Ed.), I, p. 15.

[2] Tiratana—*Buddha, Dhamma* and *Saṃgha.*

[3] The eight *samāpattis* comprise the four *jhānas*, the realm of the infinity of space, the realm of the infinity of consciousness, the realm of nothingness, and the realm of neither consciousness nor unconsciousness. Cf. also '*Lineage of Buddhas*', p. 22, note 4; see *Paṭisaṃbhidāmagga*, I, 8.

[4] *Buddhavaṃsa*, II, vv. 189–195; cf. also the translator's *Lineage of Buddhas*, pp. 22-23.

[5] For the five and the ten, see *Khuddakapāṭha* (*SBB.*), VII, p. 141.

[6] I.e. the advantages in the fruition of the four stages of the Path: *sotāpatti-, sakadāgāmī-, anāgāmī-* and *arahatta-phala.* For details, see *Mahāli Suttanta of the Dīgha Nikāya*, I, p. 156; B. C. Law, Early Buddhist 'wayfarers' (male and female), *IC.*, XII, No. I, p. 23, n. 2.

[7] For the four Paṭisambhidās, see *Points of Controversy*, pp. 377ff.; Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 60—*Artha, Dharma, Nirukti* and *Pratibhāna.*

[8] A *yojana* = about 7 or 8 miles.

utterly in the Nirvāṇa-state wherein there is no substratum remaining [1] (for rebirth).

They did not scatter the relics of that Teacher; these, standing compact, were like a golden image.

All the people dwelling in the island of Jambu built a great tope thirty-six *yojanas* in extent, with a solid floor of pounded stones and its upper surface made of gold.

So, it is said: 'The Conqueror and Teacher Dīpaṅkara attained Nirvāṇa at the park of Nanda. There a tope to this conqueror was built, thirty-six *yojanas* in extent.[2]

At the foot of the Bo-tree, a tope, three *yojanas* high, was then built in honour of the bowl, the robe and (other) requisites of the Teacher.'

5. After Dīpaṅkara, the Blessed One, at the lapse of one incalculable period, the Teacher named Koṇḍañña appeared. At that time the Bodhisatta was reborn as a universal monarch named Vijitāvin and he made a great gift to the order of monks headed by the Enlightened One and numbering a hundred thousand crores.[3] The Teacher having predicted of the Bodhisatta: 'He will become an Enlightened One', preached the doctrine. On hearing the Teacher's religious discourse, he gave up his kingdom and left the world. When he had mastered the three Piṭakas and obtained the eight higher attainments and fivefold higher knowledge, with unbroken meditation he was reborn in the Brahma-world. And when that Enlightened One had also lived for a hundred thousand years and accomplished all the duties of an Enlightened One, he waned utterly at the monastery of Canda. The relics of that Blessed One were not scattered. All the people dwelling in the island of Jambu assembled, and when they had had the 'mud-work' done with yellow and red orpiments, and the 'water-work' with oil, ghee and the like, they completed a tope, seven *yojanas* in extent and made of the seven kinds of jewels.

Koṇḍañña, an Enlightened One, it is said, passed away at the beautiful monastery of Canda. To him a tope, seven *yojanas* in extent was built.[4]

6. Next to him, after the lapse of one incalculable period, even in one aeon arose four Enlightened Ones Maṅgala, Sumana, Revata and Sobhita.

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[1] *Anupādisesāyanibbānadhātuyā parinibbāyi.* It really means that the fire of life is extinguished in that elemental condition of extinction which allows no residuum of possibility for re-ignition. In other words there was no process of respiration to be noticed in the organism of a great saint whose mind was then unshaken, steadily concentrated that it was then on its peacefulness when he expired. With an unperturbed mind he did bear the pangs of death. His consciousness became completely emancipated like fire extinguishing on the exhaustion of all materials of burning (cf. *Dīgha*, II, 157).

[2] Cf. *Buddhavaṃsa*, II, v. 220; the translator's *Lineage of the Buddhas*, p. 25—*nibbuto*.

[3] I.e. a million of millions.

[4] Cf. *Buddhavaṃsa*, Ch. III, v. 38; the translator's *Lineage of the Buddhas*, p. 28—*Sattayojanamussito*.

At the time of the Blessed Maṅgala, the Bodhisatta,[1] having been reborn as the brāhman Suruci, approached the Teacher with this thought: 'I will invite the Teacher', and having heard his sweet religious discourse, he invited him for the following day. For seven days he gave the order of monks, headed by the Enlightened One, and numbering a hundred thousand crores, a gift of milky rice pudding.[2] The Teacher, while approving of it, addressed the Great Being, and made this prediction: 'A hundred thousand aeons and two incalculable periods hence, you will become the Enlightened One named Gotama.' The Great Being, hearing the prediction, thought: 'It is said I shall become an Enlightened One. What is the use of a householder's life to me? I will leave the world.' He left behind all this property like a lump of spit, and left the world under the Teacher. And having learnt the word of the Enlightened One he attained the higher knowledge and higher attainments; and at the end of his life he was reborn in the Brahma-world. And when this Buddha had waned out utterly,[3] his relics were not scattered. The dwellers in the Jambu island erected, as before, a tope (to him) thirty *yojanas* in extent.

So it is said: 'In a garden, named Vasabha, Maṅgala, the Enlightened One waned and there a tope, thirty *yojanas* in extent, was erected for that conqueror.'[4]

7. Next to him, the Teacher named Sumana was born. At that time the Great Being was reborn as the nāga king named Atula,[5] of psychic power and majesty. On hearing: 'an Enlightened One has appeared', when he, accompanied by his assembled kinsmen, had left the nāga world, and made offerings with divine music to the Enlightened One whose retinue was a hundred thousand crores of monks, and had given away a great gift, bestowing upon each one double garments, he was established in the refuges. This Teacher predicted him also: 'In future, he will become an Enlightened One.' And when this Enlightened One had waned utterly, his relics were not scattered. The dwellers in the Jambu island erected, as before, a tope, four *yojanas* in extent.

So it is said: 'The famous Sumana, the Enlightened One, waned out at the monastery of Agga, and there a tope, four *yojanas* in extent, was erected for that conqueror.'[6]

8. Next to him, was born the Teacher named Revata. At that time the Bodhisatta, having been reborn as a brāhman named Atideva, heard the Teacher preaching the doctrine, and was established in the refuges. And raising his joined hands to his head and having praised that Teacher's

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[1] Lit., one who is destined to be a Buddha, i.e. the *Bodhisatta* who later on became Gotama Buddha.

[2] According to the Commentary, *gavapāna* is a compound of milk, rice, honey, sugar, and clarified butter.

[3] *Parinibbāyi* (lit., attained Nirvāṇa); B. C. Law, *Concepts of Buddhism*, Chap. XI.

[4] Cf. *Buddhavaṃsa*, IV, v. 32: *Lineage of the Buddhas*, p. 31.

[5] Cf. *Buddhavaṃsa*, V, 15; *Lineage of the Buddhas*, p. 32.

[6] Cf. *Buddhavaṃsa*, V, v. 34; *Lineage of the Buddhas*, p. 38—*Aṅgārāma*.

abandoning of tormenting passions, he did him homage with his upper robe. And that Teacher predicted of him: 'He will become an Enlightened One.' But when that Enlightened One had waned utterly, his relics were scattered.

So it is said: 'The best Revata the Enlightened One, waned out in a great city and his relics were scattered in different directions from that region.' [1]

9. Next to him, was born the Teacher named Sobhita. At that time the Bodhisatta, having been reborn as a brāhman named Ajita, heard the Teacher preaching the doctrine, and was established in the refuges. He made a great gift to the order of monks, headed by the Enlightened One. This Teacher, too, predicted of him: 'He will become an Enlightened One.' The relics of this Blessed One were also scattered.

So it is said: 'When Sobhita, the All-Enlightened One, had waned out in the Lion-monastery, his relics were scattered in different directions from that region.' [2]

10. Next to him, after the lapse of an incalculable period, even in one aeon, three Enlightened Ones were born—Anomadassin, Paduma and Nārada. At the time of Anomadassin the Blessed One, the Bodhisatta became a *yakkha* chief of great psychic potency and majesty, lord of many hundred thousand crores of *yakkhas*. On hearing: 'An Enlightened One has appeared', he came and made a great gift to the order of monks, headed by the Enlightened One. The Teacher also predicted of him: 'He will become an Enlightened One in the future.' But when Anomadassin, the Blessed One, had waned utterly, his relics were not scattered. The dwellers in the Jambu island erected a tope twenty-five *yojanas* in extent.

So it is said: 'The conqueror and teacher Anomadassin waned at the monastery of Dhamma, and at that very place a tope, twenty-five *yojanas* in extent, was erected for the Conqueror.' [3]

11. Next to him, was born the Teacher named Paduma. When the Tathāgata was dwelling in an uninhabited forest, the Bodhisatta having been reborn as a lion, saw the Teacher plunged in the higher attainment of making to cease. With a believing heart he made obeisance to him, and when he had gone round reverentially keeping (the Teacher) to his right side he experienced great joy and thrice uttered a mighty roar. For seven days he did not lose the bliss arising from the thought of the Enlightened One, but passed through joy and gladness, and kept himself in attendance there making renunciation of his life. After seven days, when the Teacher rose from trance, he saw the lion, and thought: 'He will put faith in the order of monks, and make obeisance to the order; let the order of monks draw near.' At that very moment the monks drew near, and the lion put faith in the order. The Teacher, knowing his thought, predicted: 'He will

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 36.

[2] Cf. *Buddhavaṃsa*, VII, v. 30; *Lineage of the Buddhas*, p. 38.

[3] *Lineage of the Buddhas*, p. 41.

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become an Enlightened One in the future.' The relics of this Blessed One were scattered.

So it is said: 'Paduma the teacher and best of the conquerors waned out at the monastery of Dhamma. His relics were scattered in different directions from that region.' [1]

12. Next to him, there was a Teacher named Nārada. At that time the Bodhisatta, having renounced the world with the renunciation of a sage, obtained mastery over the fivefold higher knowledge and the eight higher attainments, and made a great gift to the order of monks, headed by the Enlightened One, honouring them with red sandal wood. That Teacher, also, predicted of him: 'He will become an Enlightened One in the future.' The relics of the Blessed Nārada remained, however, compact. All the gods and men assembled and erected a tope, four *yojanas* in extent.

So it is said: 'Nārada, the bull among conquerors, waned out in the city of Sudassana, and at that very place a superb tope, four *yojanas* in extent, was erected for him.' [2]

13. Next to him, after the lapse of one incalculable period, after a hundred thousand aeons, there appeared in one aeon, a Teacher named Padumuttara. At that time the Bodhisatta, having been reborn as a great official named Jaṭila, made a gift of robes to the order, headed by the Enlightened One. That Teacher also predicted of him: 'He will become an Enlightened One in the future.' The relics of the Blessed Padumuttara also remained compact. All the gods and men assembled and erected a great tope, twelve *yojanas* in extent.

So it is said: 'The conqueror Padumuttara, the Enlightened One, waned out at the monastery of Nanda, and at that very place a superb tope twelve *yojanas* in extent was erected for him.' [3]

14. Next to him, after the lapse of thirty thousand aeons, were born, in one aeon, two Enlightened Ones—Sumedha and Sujāta. At the time of Sumedha, the Blessed One, however, the Bodhisatta, having been reborn as a brāhman youth named Uttara, having saved eighty crores of riches, spent the whole amount in making a great gift to the order, headed by the Enlightened One, and when he, listening to the doctrine, had established himself in the refuges, and had departed, he renounced the world. That Teacher, also, predicted of him: 'He will become an Enlightened One in the future.' The relics of Sumedha the Blessed One were, however, scattered.

So it is said: Sumedha, the Blessed One, the excellent Conqueror, waned out at the monastery of Medhā. His relics were scattered in different directions from that region.' [4]

15. Next to him, appeared the Teacher named Sujāta. At that time the Bodhisatta, having been reborn as a universal monarch and hearing

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[1] *Buddhavaṃsa*, IX, v. 29; *Lineage of the Buddhas*, p. 43.

[2] *Ibid.*, X, v. 33; *ibid.*, p. 46.

[3] Cf. *Buddhavaṃsa*, XI, v. 31; *Lineage of the Buddhas*, p. 48.

[4] *Ibid.*, XII, v. 31; *ibid.*, p. 51.

that the Buddha had been born, went to him. He listened to the doctrine and gave away to the order, headed by the Enlightened One, his kingdom of the four great continents with its seven treasures, and renounced the world under the Teacher. All the dwellers in the land taking advantage of the birth of an Enlightened One in their midst, rendered service as attendants in the monasteries, and they continually made a great gift to the order, headed by the Enlightened One. That Teacher, also, predicted of him: 'He will become an Enlightened One in the future.' The relics of Sujāta the Blessed One, remained, however, compact. The dwellers in Jambu island built a tope, three *gāvutas* in extent.[1]

So it is said: 'Sujāta the Blessed One, the excellent Conqueror, waned out at the monastery of Sīla. At that very place a tope, three *gāvutas* in extent, was built for him.'[2]

16. Next to him, after the lapse of eighteen hundred aeons, were born, in one aeon, three Enlightened Ones—Piyadassin, Atthadassin, and Dhammadassin. At the time of Piyadassin the Enlightened One, the Bodhisatta having been reborn as a brāhman youth named Kassapa, and being well versed in the three Vedas, heard the Teacher preaching the doctrine; and when he had built a monastery at the cost of a hundred thousand crores, he established himself in the refuges and moral precepts. Now of him the Teacher predicted: 'After the lapse of eighteen hundred aeons, he will become an Enlightened One.' The relics of the Blessed Piyadassin also remained compact. The dwellers in Jambu island assembled, and erected a great tope, three *yojanas* in extent.

So it is said: 'Piyadassin, the excellent sage, waned out at the monastery of Salala. At that very place a tope, three *yojanas* in extent, was erected for the Conqueror.'[3]

17. Next to him, appeared the Blessed One named Atthadassin. At that time the Bodhisatta, having been reborn as an ascetic named Susīma, of great psychic potency, of great majesty, as he was listening to the doctrine in the presence of the Blessed One, got faith in him. When he had brought divine mandārava flowers, lotuses, flowers of the coral tree and the like, and had shed a shower of flowers like a great cloud over the four islands, and had made with flowers precious gateways and the like on all sides, of a pavilion of flowers, he honoured him of the ten powers with a sunshade of mandārava flowers. Of him that Blessed One, too, predicted: 'He will become an Enlightened One named Gotama in the future.' The relics of that Blessed One were, however, scattered.

So it is said: 'Atthadassin, the excellent conqueror, waned out at the monastery of Anoma; his relics were scattered in different directions from that country.'[4]

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[1] A *gāvuta* = a quarter of a *yojana*.

[2] Cf. *Buddhavaṃsa*, XIII, v. 36; *Lineage of the Buddhas*, p. 54.

[3] *Ibid.*, XIV, v. 27; *Lineage of the Buddhas*, p. 56—*Asatthārāmamhi nibbuto.*

[4] Cf. *Buddhavaṃsa*, XV, v. 26; *Lineage of the Buddhas*, p. 58.

18. Next to him, appeared the Teacher named Dhammadassin. At that time the Bodhisatta having been reborn as Sakka, king of the gods, honoured (the Enlightened One) with divine perfumes and flowers and with divine music. Of him (that Enlightened One), too, predicted: 'He will become an Enlightened One.' The relics of the Blessed Dhammadassin remained, however, compact. The dwellers in Jambu island erected a tope, three *yojanas* in extent.

So it is said: 'Dhammadassin, the great hero, waned out at the monastery of Kelāsa, and at that very place a superb tope, three *yojanas* in extent, was erected for him.' [1]

19. Next to him, after the lapse of ninety-four aeons, there appeared in one aeon only one Enlightened One, named Siddhattha. At that time the Bodhisatta, having been reborn as an ascetic named Maṅgala of great glory and gifted with powers of higher knowledge, brought a great rose-apple fruit and presented it to the Tathāgata. The Teacher, having eaten the fruit, predicted of him: 'Ninety-four aeons hence he will become an Enlightened One.' The relics of that Blessed One also were not scattered. (They) erected jewelled tope, four *yojanas* in extent.

So it is said: 'Siddhattha the Blessed One, the superb sage, waned out at the monastery of Anoma, and at that very place a superb tope, four *yojanas* in extent, was erected for him.' [2]

20. Next to him, after the lapse of ninety-two aeons, were born in one aeon, two Buddhas—Tissa and Phussa. At the time of Tissa, the Blessed One, the Bodhisatta having been reborn as a noble, named Sujāta, wealthy and famous, renounced the world and took the vows of a sage, and acquired great psychic powers. On hearing: 'an Enlightened One has been born', he brought divine mandārava flowers, lotuses and flowers of the coral tree, and honoured the Tathāgata, while the latter was walking in the midst of his four retinues. Like an awning of flowers he stood in the air. That Teacher, too, predicted of him: 'Ninety-two aeons hence he will become an Enlightened One.' The relics of that Blessed One also were not scattered. Taking his relics (they) erected a tope, three *yojanas* in extent.

So it is said: 'Tissa the Blessed One, the supreme conqueror, waned out at the monastery of Nanda. At that very place a superb tope, three *yojanas* in extent, was erected for him.' [3]

21. Next to him, appeared the Enlightened One named Phussa. At that time the Bodhisatta, having been reborn as a noble named Vijitāviñ, left behind his great kingdom, and renouncing the world under the Teacher, learnt the three Piṭakas. He gave a religious discourse to the multitude and also fulfilled the Perfection of Morals. That Enlightened One, too,

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[1] *Ibid.*, XVI, v. 25; *Lineage of the Buddhas*, p. 60—*Kelāsārāmamhi nibbuto.*

[2] Cf. *Buddhavaṃsa*, XVII, v. 24; *Lineage of the Buddhas*, p. 62.

[3] *Ibid.*, XVIII, v. 28; *ibid.*, p. 64.

predicted of him in like manner. The relics of that Blessed One were, however, scattered.

So it is said: 'Phussa, the superb conqueror and teacher, waned out at the monastery of Sunandā. His relics were scattered in different directions from that region.'[1]

22. Next to him, after the lapse of ninety-one aeons, appeared the Enlightened One named Vipassin. At that time the Bodhisatta having been reborn as a nāga king named Atula,[2] of great psychic potency and great majesty, presented the Blessed One with a great golden couch overlaid with seven kinds of gems. Of him that Enlightened One, too, predicted: 'Ninety-one aeons hence he will become an Enlightened One.' The relics of that Blessed One were, however, not scattered. All gods and men assembled, and over his relics erected a tope, seven *yojanas* in extent.

So it is said: 'Vipassī, the superb conqueror and hero, waned out at the monastery of Sumitta. At that very place a superb tope, seven *yojanas* in extent, was built.'[3]

23. Next to him, after the lapse of thirty-one aeons, were born two Enlightened Ones—Sikhi and Vessabhū. At the time of Sikhi the Blessed One, the Bodhisatta, having been reborn as a king named Arindama, made a great gift of robes and other things to the order, headed by the Enlightened One, and also offered a royal elephant bedecked with seven kinds of gems. That Enlightened One, too, predicted of him: 'Thirty-one aeons hence he will become an Enlightened one.' The relics of the Blessed Sikhi remained compact. All the people dwelling in Jambudīpa[4] erected, however, over the relics a tope three *yojanas* in extent, and made of seven kinds of jewels, and beautiful as the Himagiri.

So it is said: 'Sikhi the Blessed One, the superb sage, waned out at the monastery of Dussa. At that very place a superb tope, three *yojanas* in extent, was erected for him.'[5]

24. Next to him, appeared the Teacher named Vessabhū. At that time the Bodhisatta, having been reborn as king Sudassana, offered a great gift of robes and other things to the order, headed by the Enlightened One, and renouncing the world under him, became righteous in conduct, and found great joy in meditating on the jewel of the Enlightened One. That Teacher, too, predicted of him: 'Thirty-one aeons hence he will become an

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1 *Buddhavaṃsa*, XIX, v. 25; *Lineage of the Buddhas*, p. 66.

2 Cf. above para. 7.

3 Cf. *Buddhavaṃsa*, XX, v. 36; *Lineage of the Buddhas*, p. 69.

4 It is one of the four mahādīpas or the great continents including India. It really means the continent of India. It has been named after the Jambu tree (*Visuddhimagga*, I, pp. 205-6; *Vinaya Texts*, *SBE.*, I, p. 127). It is 10,000 *yojanas* in extent. The five rivers, Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Aciravatī, Sarabhū and Mahī after watering Jambudīpa fall into the sea (Spence Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 17). It has 500 islands. (For a detailed account, see B. C. Law, *Geography of Early Buddhism*, Intro., pp. xvi–xix.)

5 Cf. *Buddhavaṃsa*, XXI, v. 28; *Lineage of the Buddhas*, pp. 71ff.

Enlightened One.' The relics of the Blessed Vessabhū were, however, scattered.

So it is said: 'Vessabhū, the superb conqueror and teacher, waned out at the monastery of Khema. His relics were scattered in different directions from that region.' [1]

25. Next to him, in this aeon, were born four Enlightened Ones—Kakusandha, Koṇāgamana, Kassapa and our Blessed One. At the time of Kakusandha, the Blessed One, the Bodhisatta, having been reborn as a king named Khema, offered the order headed by the Enlightened One a gift of robes and bowls and also medicaments such as collyrium and the rest. When he had listened to the doctrine preached by the Teacher he renounced the world. That Teacher, too, predicted of him. The relics of that Blessed One, however, were not scattered. All assembled built over the relics a tope, one *gāvuta* in extent.

So it is said: 'Kakusandha, the superb conqueror, waned out at the monastery of Khema. At that very place a superb tope one *gāvuta* in extent towards the sky, (was erected) for him.' [2]

26. Next to him, appeared the Teacher named Koṇāgamana. At that time the Bodhisatta, having been reborn as a king named Pabbata, accompanied by his ministers went to the Teacher, and listened to the preaching of the doctrine. And when he had invited the order of monks, headed by the Enlightened One, and offered a great gift of fine cloth, china cloth, silk cloth, rugs, fibrous cloth and golden bowls, he renounced the world under the Teacher. That Teacher, too, predicted of him. The relics of that Blessed One were scattered.

So it is said: 'Koṇāgamana, the Enlightened One, waned out at the monastery of Pabbata. His relics were scattered in different directions from that region.' [3]

27. Next to him, appeared the Teacher named Kassapa. At that time the Bodhisatta, having been reborn as a brāhman youth named Jotipāla, was well versed in the three Vedas, well known on land and in the air, and he was a friend of the potter Ghaṭikāra. When he had approached the Teacher with him and had listened to a religious discourse, he renounced the world. Energetically he learnt the three Piṭakas and glorified the Enlightened One's instruction by the fulfilment of all duties. That Teacher, too, predicted of him. The relics of the teacher Kassapa were, however, not scattered. All the people dwelling in Jambudīpa assembled, and when they had had the mud-work done with red orpiments, and the 'water-work' with oil, they built a tope, one *yojana* in extent, with golden bricks, and those (bricks used) for its outer decoration were each valued at one crore (of money) and were decorated with jewels, while those used for filling the inside were each valued at half a crore.

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[1] *Ibid.*, XXII, v. 30; *ibid.*, p. 74.

[2] *Ibid.*, XXIII, v. 27; *ibid.*, p. 76.

[3] Cf. *ibid.*, XXIV, v. 29; *ibid.*, p. 78.

So it is said: 'Mahākassapa, the Conqueror and Teacher, waned out at Setavyā. At that very place a tope, one *yojana* in extent, was erected for the Conqueror.' [1]

And moreover: 'Dīpaṅkara and Koṇḍañña, Maṅgala, Sumana, and Anomadassin the Enlightened One, Nārada, Padumuttara, Sujāta, and Piyadassin, Dhammadassin the best of men, Siddhattha the Enlightened One and Tissa, Vipassin and Sikhin, Kakusandha and Kassapa—these sixteen were great sages. The measure of their topes is mentioned in the text. Since I have explained well all those topes, so let faithful persons adore them properly and reverentially. The relics of the remaining eight Sugatas, the seekers of welfare, were scattered in different directions from those regions.'

Here ends the account of the existing topes of the Enlightened Ones and of the aspiration under them all, in the Legend of the topes compiled for the serene joy and emotion of good people.

CHAPTER III

THE ACCOUNT OF THE TWO TOPES OF THE DIADEM AND THE GARMENTS

1. Since Kassapa, the Blessed One, there has been no other Enlightened One excepting this present Supreme Enlightened One. Thus the Bodhisatta having obtained prediction under the twenty-four Enlightened Ones, beginning with Dīpaṅkara, fulfilled the perfectionary virtues and was reborn as Vessantara.

'This earth, though unconscious, not experiencing happiness and sorrow, even by the force of my gift, quaked seven times.' [2]

2. Thus doing meritorious deeds which made the earth quake, (the Bodhisatta), at the end of his lifetime, departed thence and was reborn in the Tusita abode. There, when he was excelling other gods in ten (heavenly) attributes [3] and enjoying heavenly bliss for his lifetime, the gods marked these five signs, as they appeared, namely, clothes became dirty, garlands withered away, sweat dropped from one's armpits, ugliness appeared in the body, and the god found no delight in the seat of a god. Having realized that some (among them) would come to an end of their life-span after seven days according to human measure, they were profoundly moved by the thought: 'Will the heavens, indeed, be empty?' When they realized that the Great Being had fulfilled the Perfections, they thought: 'As he will not go to any other *deva*-world, but will be reborn in the human world and attain the stage of enlightenment, the beings who are subject to rising and falling will do meritorious deeds and fill the *deva*-world.'

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[1] *Ibid.*, XXV, v. 52; *ibid.*, p. 83.

[2] *Jātaka-nidāna-kathā*, verse 269.

[3] Cf. *Dīgha*, III, p. 127; *Saṃyutta*, V, p. 275.

'When I was reborn in the Tusita heaven[1] and was named Santusita, the beings of the ten thousand world-systems approached and besought me with folded hands, saying:

" 'Tis time now, great hero! Be born of a mother! While saving the world of men and gods, let the path to immortality be apprehended." '[2]

3. Thus when he, being prayed for the attainment of Buddhahood, had reflected on these five important objects of reflection: time, country, district, family, mother, and the length of the time (of her delivery), he came to a conclusion.[3] And when he had deceased thence he was reborn in the royal family of the Sākyas. There he was reared in great luxury, and when he had gradually attained auspicious youth, he enjoyed royal majesty, like the glory of the *deva*-world, in the three palaces suitable to the three seasons. When he was going out for sport in the pleasure-ground, he saw the three messengers of the gods appearing as an old man, a diseased man and a dead man in succession. Agitated in heart he came back, and on the fourth occasion when he saw one who had left the world, he thought: 'The life of one who has left the world is good.' And for the life of one who has left the world he felt a liking, and going to the pleasure-ground, he passed the day-time there, seated on the bank of the royal tank. Clad in splendour by the god Vissakamma who drew near in the disguise of a barber, when he heard the news of the birth of Prince Rāhula, he realized that his affection for his son was strong and thought: 'I will cut off this bond before it grows (strong).' As he was entering the city in the evening, he heard:

'Blessed indeed is that mother, blessed indeed is that father, blessed indeed is that wife, of whom such a one is the husband.'[4]

4. Hearing this verse uttered by his aunt's daughter, Kisāgotamī by name, the Bodhisatta thought: 'She tells me of the path to bliss', and then taking from his neck a string of pearls worth a hundred thousand, he sent it to her. Entering his own palace he reclined on a royal couch, and seeing the change in the appearance of the dancers who had fallen asleep, he wearied in mind, made Channa get up and had Kanthaka brought. Mounted on him with Channa and being attended by the gods of the ten thousand world-systems he carried out the Great Renunciation,[5] and in that one night, when he had passed beyond three kingdoms, he arrived at the opposite bank of the river Anomā.[6] Alighting from the horse's back, he

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1 It is one of the heavens according to the Buddhists. B. C. Law, *Heaven and Hell in Buddhist Perspective*, pp. 10, 11, 16.

2 Cf. *Buddhavaṃsa*, I, vv. 66-7; *Lineage of the Buddhas*, p. 6.

3 Cf. *Jātaka-nidāna-kathā*, pp. 48-9.

4 Cf. *Jātaka*, I, 60, v. 271; *Dhammapada Commentary*, I, 85; *Buddhavaṃsa Commentary*, 280.

5 Cf. *Dāṭhāvaṃsa* (ed. B. C. Law), I, v. 31.

6 Cf. *Dhammapada Commentary*, I, p. 85. According to Cunningham, it is the river Aumi in the district of Gorakhpur. It has also been identified with the Kudawanadī in the Basti district of Oudh.

stood on the sandy beach which appeared like heaps of gems, and addressing Channa thus: 'Good Channa, do thou go back with my ornaments as well as with Kanthaka', he delivered over to him both his ornaments and Kanthaka. Taking the royal sword in his right hand, with his left hand on his crest he cut it off [1] together with his diadem and saying unto himself: 'If I am to become an Enlightened One, let these stand in the air; if not, let them fall to the ground', he threw them up into the sky. The crest and the jewelled diadem went a *yojana* and remained in the sky. Then Sakka, the king of gods, received them into a jewelled casket measuring a *yojana*.

Hence it is said: 'Cutting off his crest, perfumed with superb perfumes, the chief of the Sākyas threw it up into the sky. The thousand-eyed one, Vāsava,[2] received it with reverence in a superb golden casket.' [3]

5. And when (Sakka) had received them and carried them up to the *deva*-world, he on the summit of Sineru, erected the tope of the diadem measuring three *yojanas* in extent and made of sapphire gems.

Now the great Brahmā Ghaṭikāra who had formerly been his friend in the time of Kassapa, the Enlightened One, was led by this friendship, which had not been lost in one Buddha-interval, to think: 'Today my friend is setting out for the Great Renunciation, I will go taking the requisites of a recluse (for him).'

'The three robes and almsbowl, razor, needle, and girdle together with a water strainer—these eight (are the requirements) of a monk devoted to meditation.' [4]

6. When (Brahmā) had brought these requisites of a recluse he gave them (to the Bodhisatta). When the Great Being had put on the banner of *arahants* and assumed the garb of utter renunciation of the world, he cast his pair of garments towards the sky. The Brahmā received them, and in the Brahma-world erected the tope of the garments, twelve *yojanas* in extent and made of all kinds of jewels.

'Even though at that moment the Great Being had not destroyed worldly lusts, yet his garments and a lock of his hair were honoured thus owing to his great personality.

'So one should evince great interest [5] in the career of the great Bodhisattas (to know) what sort of a man an Enlightened One is.'

Here ends the account of the two topes of the diadem and the garments.

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[1] Cf. *Jinacarita*, V. 189; *Lalitavistara*, Ch. XV; *Vimānavatthu*, pp. 73-4; *Vimānavatthu Commentary*, p. 313.

[2] Sakka, the *deva*-king.

[3] Cf. *Jātaka-nidāna-kathā*, v. 272.

[4] *Ibid.*, 273.

[5] *Pakareyya mahussāhaṃ*: *manussāhaṃ* is a misprint in the PTS. Ed.

CHAPTER IV

THE ACCOUNT OF THE TEN TOPES

1. The Bodhisatta, having renounced the world, went gradually to Rājagaha. There, having walked for alms, and seating himself on a slope of the Paṇḍava hill,[1] he refused to accept the kingdom offered by the king of Magadha who made him promise to visit his kingdom first after he had obtained omniscience. Then he approached Āḷāra [2] and Uddaka,[3] and being not fully satisfied with the specific attainment which he had acquired under them, he strived (with) a great striving for six years, and on the full-moon day of Vesākha,[4] when he had partaken of the rice-milk offered by Sujātā [5] at the village of Senānī and caused the golden vessel to be carried away by the river Nerañjarā, he passed the day-time in a great grove on the bank of the Nerañjarā (practising) the various attainments, and in the evening he took the bundles of grass offered by Sotthiya. Being praised for his qualities by Kāḷa the *Nāga*-king, he ascended the Bo-terrace, and spread grasses and taking the vow: 'I will not leave this cross-legged seat till my heart is completely emancipated from the cankers with no clinging', he took his seat with his face towards the east. Even before the sunset he overwhelmed the prowess of Māra, and obtained the knowledge of his former existences in the first watch of the night, that of the coming to be and passing away (of beings) in the middle watch, and at the end of the last watch he comprehended the knowledge of omniscience, adorned with all virtues, such as, the tenfold power, the fourfold mastery,[6] and the rest. When he had passed seven weeks near the Bo-tree, he in the eighth week, took his seat [7] at the foot of the Ajapāla Nigrodha tree,[8] and after having considered the depth of the doctrine, he reached the state of living at ease. Being requested to preach the doctrine by the Great Brahmā Sahampati, who was accom-

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[1] One of the hills encircling Rājagriha. It appears to have been one of the two hills that stood on the north side of Girivraja and was noted for its rocky caves. Vebhāra and Paṇḍava stood side by side. *Theragāthā*, *PTS.*, p. 7.

[2] Cf. *Vinaya* texts, II, 108ff. He held that this world was evil and would never grow better. Wisdom dwelt only in other worlds—Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Gotama the Man*, pp. 25ff.

[3] His method was even worse than that of Āḷāra. Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Gotama the Man*, p. 27.

[4] I.e. in the month of May.

[5] *Sujātā*, cf. *Jātaka*, I, 68 foll.; *Dhammapada aṭṭhakathā*, I, 71, etc. It is right to say that Sujātā's meal was considered as one of the most important offerings to the Buddha.

[6] Some have translated *Vesārajja* as perfect self-confidence. It is of four kinds: highest knowledge, the state of freedom from passions, recognition of the obstacles, recognition and preaching of the way to salvation (*Dīgha*, I, 110; *Aṅguttara*, II, 13; IV, 210, 213; *Majjhima*, I, 380).

[7] According to the *Jātaka-nidāna-kathā*, however, the Buddha spent four weeks near the Bo-tree and went, in the fifth week, to the Ajapāla Nigrodha tree. See also account at *Vin.*, I.

[8] Lit., the Shepherd's Banyan tree; cf. *Dāṭhāvaṃsa*, I, v. 55.

panied by the Great Brahmās of the ten thousand world-systems, he surveyed the world with his Buddha-eyes and taking up Brahmā's entreaty, when he had considered: 'To whom should I first preach the doctrine?' he learnt that Āḷāra and Uddaka were dead. He thought of the great help rendered to him by the group of five monks,[1] and rose from his seat. As he was going to the city of Kāsī,[2] he met midway Upaka,[3] and had a conversation with him. On the full-moon day of Āsāḷha he arrived at the dwelling-place of the group of five monks in the Deer Park at Isipatana.[4] Because they addressed him by the improper word 'Friend', he taught them by setting in motion the Wheel of the Law and made the eighteen crores (of beings), with the Elder Aññakoṇḍañña at their head, drink the drink of deathlessness. After that he lived for forty-five years, preaching the eighty-four thousand constituents of the doctrine, and delivering beings beyond reckoning from the wilderness of existence. Having accomplished all the duties of an Enlightened One, when he, on the full-moon day of Vesākha, had laid himself down, never to rise up,[5] on his right side on the couch made ready for him, with its head towards the north, between the Twin Sāla trees in the Sāla grove of the Mallas, close to Kusīnārā,[6] he was mindful and self-possessed. At that time, it is said, the Twin Sāla trees were one mass of full blossom from root to crown out of reverence for the Blessed One; not only the Twin Sāla trees but also the branches of all trees were in full blossom.

2. Not only in that pleasure-garden but also in all the ten thousand world-systems, the fruit-bearing trees bore fruits. Lotuses that grow in tanks blossomed in the trunks of all trees, those springing from creepers in the creepers, the bright[7] lotuses in the air, and those with long stems blossomed breaking through the earth. The entire great ocean was covered with the five-coloured lotuses. The Himavant, three thousand *yojanas* in extent, was very beautiful like a thick, clustered bunch of peacock's tails, like something constantly furnished with wreaths and nettings, like a well-pressed garland of flowers bound round the forehead, and like a casket well filled with flowers; the earthly gods, (residing on) the Twin Sāla trees, sprinkled flowers from swaying trunks and branches on the body of the Blessed One; the divine *mandārava* flowers also fell from the sky, they were golden and as big as leaf-awnings, and contained pollens of the size of water-vessels. Not only the *mandārava* flowers but also other flowers, such as those of the coral tree and the like, many times filled gold and silver caskets; they were thrown down by the gods dwelling in the city of

[1] Koṇḍañña, Bhaddiya, Vappa, Mahānāma and Assaji. See Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Unknown Co-founders of Buddhism, JRAS.*, 1927; *Jāt.*, I, 57, 67, 81, 82; *Dham. Commentary*, I, 87.

[2] Modern Benares.

[3] He was an Ājīvika mendicant.

[4] Near Benares—Sarnath.

[5] Cf. *Dāṭhāvaṃsa*, I, vv. 34–6.

[6] Probably identical with Kasia on the smaller Gandak and in the east of the Gorakhpur district—see B. C. Law, *Geography of Early Buddhism*, p. 14 and f.n. 1.

[7] Lit., 'to be looked at'.

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the Thirty and the Brahma-world, and without being scattered in the air, they came down and sprinkled themselves over the body of the Blessed One with filaments and pollens of their leaves; the divine sandalwood powders also fell from the air and sprinkled themselves over the body of the Blessed One. Not only the divine sandalwood powders but also (other) sandalwood powders were served by the *nāgas, supaṇṇas* and men. Not merely the sandalwood powders but also powders prepared from all odorific substances, such as, the black *anusāri*[1] sandalwood, the *tagara*[2] perfume, the red sandalwood and the like, as well as the yellow orpiments, gold-coloured and silver powders, permeated with perfumes of all scents, filled gold- and silver-coloured baskets and the like, and were thrown by gods standing on the border of the horizon and the like and they, without being scattered in the air, sprinkled themselves over the body of the Blessed One. Heavenly musical instruments were also played in the air. Not merely these, but also all musical instruments of various descriptions, such as those bound with strings, those covered with leathers, those that were solid, those that were hollow, and the like, of the gods, *nāgas, supaṇṇas* and men of the ten thousand world-systems, were gathered in one world-system and played in the air.

3. A certain class of long-lived divine beings known as the excellent elephant-spirits, it is said, heard: 'The Great Being having been reborn in human state, will become an Enlightened One', and they began to make garlands, thinking: 'We shall go with them on the day of his reincarnation.' As they were tying them after the Great Being had been reborn in his mother's womb, they were asked: 'For whom do you tie them?' 'Not yet finished' thought they and replied: 'We shall go with them on the day of his coming out of his mother's womb.' Again, on hearing: 'He has come out', they thought: 'We shall go on the day of his Great Renunciation.' On hearing: 'He has carried out the Great Renunciation', they thought: 'We shall go on the day of his Supreme Enlightenment.' On hearing: 'Today he has obtained Supreme Enlightenment', they thought: 'We shall go on the day of his setting in motion the Wheel of the Law.' On hearing: 'He has set in motion the Wheel of the Law', they thought: 'We shall go on the day of (his displaying) the Twin-miracles.' On hearing: 'Today, he has displayed the Twin-miracles', they thought: 'We shall go on the day of the descent of the gods.' On hearing: 'Today the gods have made their descent', they thought: 'We shall go on the day of his giving up the constituents of his life.' On hearing: 'He gave up the constituents of his life', they thought: 'We have not yet finished, so we shall go on the day of his waning out entirely.' But when they were told thus: 'Today, very early in the morning, he mindful and self-possessed, will lay himself down

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[1] Kāḷānusāri = a variety of dark and fragrant sandalwood; cf. *Vin.*, I, 203; *Saṃyutta*, III, 156; *Aṅguttara*, V, 22.

[2] Tagara = the shrub *Tabernaemontana coronaria*, and a fragrant powder or perfume made from it. Cf. *Vinaya*, I, 203.

in a lion's posture and pass away entirely; for whom do you tie them?' They thought: 'How is it that this very day he underwent rebirth in his mother's womb, this very day he came out of his mother's womb, this very day he proceeded on the Great Renunciation, this very day he became an Enlightened One, this very day he set in motion the Wheel of the Law, this very day he displayed the Twin-miracles, this very day the gods descended, this very day he gave up the constituents of his life, and this very day, they say, he has waned out entirely? Could he not live another day even a little while on a drink of rice-gruel? It is indeed unbecoming in him who, having fulfilled the ten Perfections, has obtained Buddhahood.' They came even with the unfinished garlands, and when they could not find a space within the world-system, they acquired one on the border of the horizon, and as they were running after their object holding hands neck to neck, they sang, beginning with the Three Jewels, also about the thirty-two marks of a Great Being, the six-coloured rays, the ten Perfections, the five hundred and fifty Birth-stories, and the fourteen kinds of knowledge of an Enlightened One, and at the interval in each, they called out: 'Friend, look here.' With reference to this, it has been said: 'Heavenly chantings were also in the air.'

4. When[1] such great honouring was going on, the Blessed One preached the doctrine to the Mallas[2] in the first watch of the night, and in the middle watch he preached the doctrine to Subhadda and established him in the Fruition of the Path. Having instructed the monks in the last watch of the night, and very early in the morning causing the great earth to quake, he passed away entirely into Nibbāna without any cause remaining for rebirth. When the Blessed One, leader of the world, had passed away entirely, the elder Ānanda informed the Malla chiefs concerning that matter. As soon as they heard it, they went there with perfumes and garlands and all the musical instruments and five hundred pairs of garments. They passed the day in paying honour and reverence and respect and homage to the body of the Blessed One with dance and song and music, and with garlands and perfumes, as well as in making canopies, and preparing decorated wreaths to hang thereon.

5. Then the gods and the Mallas of Kusinārā thought thus: 'It is much too late to cremate the body of the Blessed One today. We will cremate the body of the Blessed One tomorrow.' In this way, they passed the second day too. Likewise they passed the third, the fourth, the fifth, and the sixth day also. On the seventh day, when the gods and the Mallas of Kusinārā had paid honour and reverence and respect and homage to the body of the Blessed One with heavenly and earthly dance and song and music, and with garlands and perfumes, they brought it through the midst

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[1] Cf. *Mahāparinibbāna-Suttanta* in *Dīgha-Nikāya*, II, pp. 159–68.

[2] B. C. Law, *Tribes in Ancient India*, pp. 257 foll. The Mallas were a typical example of a *Saṃgharājya*. Buddhism appears to have attracted many followers among them. B. C. Law, *Geography of Early Buddhism*, pp. 15ff.

of the city and laid it down there at the tope of the Mallas, called Makuṭabandhana.[1]

6. Now at that time Kusinārā, down even to the dustbins and rubbish heaps, became strewn knee-deep with *mandārava* flowers. Then the Mallas of Kusinārā wrapped the body of the Blessed One, like the body of a universal monarch in a new cloth. Having wrapped it in the new cloth, they wrapped it in cotton wool. And having wrapped it in cotton wool, they wrapped it in a new cloth. In this way, when they had wrapped the body of the Blessed One in five hundred layers of both kinds, and had placed it in an oil vessel of iron, and had covered that closely with another oil vessel of iron, they made a funeral pile of all kinds of perfumes, and upon it placed the body of the Blessed One.

7. Now at that time the venerable Kassapa the great was coming along the high road from Pāvā[2] to Kusinārā with a great company of monks, with about five hundred monks. Now at that time certain *devatās* reborn in heaven having inclined their heart towards the Elder, did not find the Elder in that assembly, and they reflected thus: 'Where is our friend, the Elder?' When they saw him coming along the road, they resolved: 'Let not the funeral pile (of the Blessed One) catch fire, until our friend, the Elder, does homage.'

8. Then four chieftains of the Mallas, having bathed their heads and clad themselves in new garments, thought: 'We will set the funeral pile of sandalwood and of twenty hundred jewels on fire.' They were eight, and then sixteen, and then thirty-two persons, and they took up double fire-brands, and although fanning with palm-leaves and blowing the bellows, they were yet unable to cause it to catch fire. Then the Mallas of Kusinārā asked the venerable Anuruddha[3] why the funeral pile had not caught fire, and they heard about the purpose of the *devas*. They thought: 'Kassapa the great, it is said, is coming with five hundred monks with the intention of doing homage at the feet of him of the ten powers. The funeral pile, it is said, will not catch fire until he arrives. What is that monk like? Is he black or white, tall or short? When such a monk exists, how is it possible that he of the ten powers passes away entirely?' Some of them went to meet him with perfumes and garlands and the like in their hands. Some decorated the roads and stood watching the way he would come. Then the venerable Kassapa the great approached Makuṭabandhana at Kusinārā, the tope of the Mallas, and the funeral pile of the Blessed One. Coming up to it when he had arranged his robe on one shoulder, and bowed down with clasped hands and thrice walked reverently round the pile, he, reflecting,

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[1] Lit., 'a hall for the head-dress'.

[2] Pāvā may probably be identified with Kasia on the smaller Gandak and to the east of the Gorakhpur district.

[3] Anuruddha excelled in the possession of the divine eye, a psychical power to witness the rise and fall of beings according to their deeds and destinies. Mahākassapa set the highest example of the ascetic mode of life. B. C. Law, *Early Buddhist Brothers and Sisters*, *JRASB.*, Vol. XI, 1945, p. 45.

thought: 'In this place are the feet (of the Blessed One).' Then he stood at the feet of the Blessed One, and when he had entered upon the fourth stage of meditation—forming it into a basis for the higher knowledge—and had risen from it, he resolved: 'Let the feet of him of the ten powers, endowed with a thousand spokes, be placed on my head, dividing into two parts the five hundred layers of cloth, together with the cotton coverings, and the oil vessels of gold and the funeral pile of sandalwood.' As soon as he made up his mind, the feet emerged dividing into two parts those layers of cloth and the rest, like the full moon coming out from a bewildering mass of cloud. The Elder, stretching forth his hands, like wide open red lotuses, held firmly the gold-coloured feet of the Teacher up to the ankles, and placed them on his own beautiful head. The multitude seeing this wonder, roared a great roar in one voice, and having venerated with perfumes and garlands and the like, they did homage as they pleased. And when the homage of the Elder and of the multitude and of those five hundred monks was ended, the lac-coloured soles of the feet of the Blessed One, being set free from the hands of the Elder, were set up at the proper place without moving any of the wood and the rest. When the feet of the Blessed One were emerging or entering, no filament of cotton or fringe of cloth, or drop of oil or pile of wood moved from its place; everything remained exactly in its proper place. When the Tathāgata's feet had vanished like the risen moon and sun, the multitude having got up, wept loudly. Compassion was more than it was at the time of his utter waning out. Then by the miraculous power of the *devatās* this funeral pile caught fire even all at once on all sides. As the body of the Blessed One burnt itself away, from the skin and the integument and the flesh and so on, even no ashes were seen, nor soot.[1] But like jasmine buds, like cleansed pearls and like gold, the relics remained.

9. The body of long-lived Enlightened Ones remained compact like a mass of gold. The Blessed One, however, resolved on the scattering of his relics, thus: 'I am to live not for long, but to pass away entirely, and my teaching has not yet been spread everywhere; so when I pass away entirely, let the multitude take my relics, even of the size of a mustard seed, and make a shrine each in his own dwelling place, and worshipping them, let them aim at (the attainment of) heaven.' How many of his relics were, however, scattered, and how many were not? Four teeth, the two collar-bones, and the cranium—these seven relics were not scattered. The rest were scattered. Of them, all small relics were each of the size of a mustard seed, the great relics were each of the size of a grain of rice, divided at the centre and the very great ones were of the size of a sprouted seed, divided at the centre.

When the body of the Blessed One had been cremated, there poured down from the sky streams of water of the size of the upper arm, and of the size of the leg, and of the size of the trunk of a palm tree, and extinguished

[1] Cf. *Dīgha*, II, p. 164.

the funeral pile. Not only from the sky but also from the trunks and branches and leaves of the Sāla trees that stood around, streams of water came down and extinguished it. The funeral pile of the Blessed One was great; from the earth around burst forth streams of water of the size of the head of a plough, and like a diadem of crystal they reached the funeral pile. The Malla chiefs having filled vessels of gold and silver, also brought scented water, and extinguished the sandalwood funeral pile, destroying it with pins made of gold, silver, and ivory.

10. And while the funeral pile was burning, and the flames had risen to the branches and leaves of the Sāla trees that stood around, not even a leaf or branch was burnt. Ants and spiders and living creatures walked about right in the midst of the blaze. The conformity between the streams of water pouring down from the sky and then coming down from the Sāla trees, and their bursting forth from the earth, is the proof.

11. Thus extinguishing the funeral pile, the Malla chiefs had (the relics of the Blessed One) surrounded by the four kinds of perfumes in the council hall [1] and strewn over with flowers, with *lāja* (fried rice) as the fifth, and had a canopy fixed above, embroidering it with golden stars and the like, and hanging thereon wreaths of perfumes and flowers and jewels. They had enclosures of screens and faggots made on both sides, extending from the council hall to the auspicious hall for the head-dress, called Makuṭabandhana, and they had a canopy fixed above, embroidering it with golden stars, and there also hanging wreaths of perfumes and flowers and jewels. When they had raised five-coloured banners with jewelled sticks, and had raised banners and flags on all sides, and had placed plantain trees and full vessels on the sprinkled and cleaned roads, and had had candles kindled on sticks, and had placed the golden oil vessel together with the relics on the decorated back of an elephant, they venerated them with garlands and perfumes and the like, and while celebrating the sacred festival, they entered the centre of the city, and placed them on antelope-couch in the council hall and held a white canopy over them. They had them surrounded by persons holding spears and by elephants striking one another with their frontal globes, and then by horses striking one another with their shoulders, and then by chariots striking one another with the points of their linch-pins, and then by warriors striking one another with their arms, and these ended in bowmen striking one another with their bow-points. In this way, they provided protection round a place measuring a *yojana*, having had it, as it were, furnished with armour. Why did these people do so? During the two weeks prior to that time as they had been making spaces and arranging them for the order of monks, and providing food, solid and soft, they did not get an opportunity (to observe) a sacred festival. Then they thought: 'This week we will celebrate the sacred festival, but it is possible that somebody, making us careless, may come and take away the

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[1] *Santhāgāra*, Rhys Davids has translated it as mote-hall. *Buddhist India*, p. 19.

relics; so we will celebrate after providing protection for them.' For that reason they did so.

12. Now Ajātasattu, the king of Magadha, heard: 'The Blessed One, they say, has passed away entirely at Kusinārā.' How did he hear it? His ministers heard it first and thought: 'The Teacher has passed away entirely, it is not possible to bring him back again; in regard to the faith of the ordinary man, none is equal to our king, if he hears it in this way, his heart will be broken; the king therefore should be protected by us.' Then they brought three golden vessels, and filled them with four kinds of sweet things, and going to the king, they spoke thus: 'Sire, we have seen a dream, and in order to ward it off you should wear fine-cloth, and lay yourself down in the vessel of four kinds of sweet things in such a way that only the end of your nose is visible.' Hearing these words of his benefactors, the king consented, saying: 'Dear ones, let it be so'; and he did accordingly.

13. Now a minister who had taken off his ornaments and loosened his hair, turned his face towards the direction in which the Teacher had passed away entirely, and bent his outstretched hands in salutation, and said to the king: 'Sire, there is no being free from death; the promoter of our life-spans, the site of shrines, the field for merit, the seat for consecration, the Blessed One, the Teacher, has passed way entirely at Kusinārā.' On hearing this the king became unconscious and the vessel of four kinds of sweet things emitted heat. (The ministers) supported the king and made him lie down in the second vessel. When he had regained consciousness, he asked: 'Dear ones! what do you mean to say?' 'The Teacher, Your majesty, has passed away entirely.' He again became unconscious, and the vessel of four kinds of sweet things emitted heat. Then they, having supported him again from there, made him lie down in the third vessel. On again regaining consciousness, he asked: 'Dear ones! what do you mean to say?' 'The Teacher, Your majesty, has passed away entirely.' The king again became unconscious, and the vessel of four kinds of sweet things emitted heat. Then they, having supported him again from there, bathed him and on his head they sprinkled water from pots.

14. When the king had regained consciousness, rising from his seat, he let his perfumed jewel-coloured hair fall down his back which was of the colour of a golden shield, and having touched his breast which was of the colour of a golden Bimbaka fruit, as though entwining it with fingers whose beautiful skin was of the colour of young shoots and tendrils he came along the road lamenting with all the appearance of a mad man. Covered up in his decorated cloak, he left the city, and went to Jivaka's mango-grove[1]; looking at the place where the Blessed One used to sit and preach the doctrine, he lamented, saying: 'O Blessed One, the Omniscient! did you not, sitting in this very place, preach the doctrine to me? You removed the dart of (my) grief, you took out the dart of (my) grief; I have taken refuge

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[1] It is near Rājagaha—B. C. Law, *Rājagriha in Ancient Lit.*, pp. 12-3; Law, *India as described in early texts of Buddhism and Jainism*, p. 236.

in you; but now you give me no answer, Blessed One!' Thus lamenting again and again, he said: 'O Blessed One! have I not heard the other day at a time like this that you, surrounded by a great company of monks, had been walking on alms-tour in the island of Jambu? But now I hear news, unworthy of you and unbecoming.' Saying this and the like, he recollected in about sixty verses the excellence of the Blessed One and thought: 'Lamentation alone avails me nothing. I will have the relics of him of the ten powers brought (here).' He sent a messenger and a letter to the Malla chiefs, saying: 'The Blessed One was a noble, and I too am a noble. I am also worthy to have large topes erected over the bodily remains of the Blessed One.'[1] When he had sent them, he thought thus: 'If they will give (the relics), it will be well; if they will not, I will bring them by force', and he armed himself and his fourfold army, and simply went out. Even as Ajātasattu, so did the Licchavī chiefs in Vesālī, the Sakya (Sākya) chiefs in Kapilavatthu, the Buliyas in Allakappa, the Koliyas in Rāmagāmaka, a brāhmin in Veṭhadīpaka and the Mallas in Pāvā, each sending a messenger, simply came out themselves with their fourfold army.

Now the people of Pāvā[2] were the nearest of all; they lived in a city less than three *gāvutas*[3] from Kusinārā. The Blessed One, too, having entered Pāvā, had gone to Kusinārā. But great privileges arose afterwards like these chieftains making an attack. And they all, the people of the seven cities, came surrounding the city of Kusinārā, and saying: 'Give us either the relics, or a fight.' Then the Malla chiefs spoke thus: 'The Blessed One has passed away entirely in our village domain. We neither sent a message to the Teacher nor did we go and fetch him. But the Teacher came of his own accord, and sending a message, had us summoned. But, even as you, when a treasure comes into being in your village domain do not give it to us, even so we will not give away the supreme treasure obtained by us, the Buddha-treasure, the like of which there is none in this world with its *devas*.' In this way, they created a quarrel, and said: 'You alone have not sucked milk from your mothers' breasts, we too, have sucked; only you are men, we are no men. Be it so, be it so.' Thus showing arrogance to one another, they sent messages and replies thereto, and roared in pride against one another. Had there been a fight, the people of Kusinārā alone would have won the victory. Why? The *devatās* who had come there with a view to honouring the relics, were on their side.

15. Then the brāhman Doṇa heard about this dispute, and thought: 'These chiefs are disputing at the place where the Blessed One passed away entirely. This is not proper, there is no need for this quarrel, I will pacify

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[1] Cf. *Dīgha*, II, p. 166.

[2] It is identical with a village named Padaraona, 12 miles to the north-east of Kasia—Law, *Geography of Early Buddhism*, p. 14.

[3] A *gāvuta* is a quarter of a *yojana* = 80 *usabhas*, a little less than two miles, a league.

it.' Standing on a raised ground, he addressed a speech to the extent of two recitals, called the roaring of Doṇa. Now, in regard to the first recital, they did not know even a part of it. At the end of the second recital, they said: 'Well, this is like the voice of a Teacher! Well, this is like the voice of a Teacher!' And all became silent. In all the Jambu island, it is said, there was none born in a clan-house who was not, as it were, his pupil. Now knowing that they had been silent after hearing his own word, he again spoke thus:

'Hear, gracious sirs, one single word from me. Forbearance our Enlightened One did teach. Unseemly it is that over the division of the remains of him who was the best of beings strife should arise, and wounds, and war. Let us all, sirs, with one accord unite in friendly harmony to make eight portions. Widespread let cairns [1] spring up in every land so that many people may trust in him who was gifted with the eye (of complete intuition).' [2]

16. Herein this is the explanation: 'Our Enlightened One taught forbearance' means that even when he had not obtained the stage of Buddhahood, but was fulfilling the perfections at the time when he was the ascetic Khantivāda,[3] at the time when he was the Prince Dhammapāla,[4] at the time when he was the elephant Chaddanta,[5] at the time when he was the *nāga* king Bhuridatta,[6] at the time when he was the *nāga* king Campeyya,[7] at the time when he was the *nāga* king Saṅkhapāla,[8] and at the time when he was the Great Monkey,[9] and in many other births, he acted forbearingly only not showing anger to others; he praised forbearance only. How much more now is in every way our Enlightened One an exponent of forbearance, who has obtained the mark of such excellence in pleasant and unpleasant circumstances? It is indeed unseemly that strife should arise over the division of the bodily remains of him who was the best of beings. 'Unseemly it is' means it is certainly unseemly. 'Over (the division of) the bodily remains' means for the purpose of distributing the bodily remains, for the sake of dividing the relics into portions. 'Strife should arise', that is to say, strife with weapons would be unseemly. 'Let us all, sirs, with one accord' means let all of you, sirs, be united; do not be divided. 'Unite' means be united both in body and speech; be united in one assembly and of one speech. 'In friendly harmony' means be friendly at heart towards one another. 'Let us make eight portions' means let us make into eight portions the bodily remains of the Blessed One. 'In him who was gifted with the eye' means in the Enlightened One, in him

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[1] *Thūpa*, topes. [2] *Dīgha*, II, 166.

[3] *Jātaka*, III, pp. 39f., *Khantivādi Jātaka*; cf. *Dāṭhāvaṃsa*, III, 34.

[4] *Jātaka*, III, pp. 178f.; cf. *Dāṭhāvaṃsa*, III, 35.

[5] *Ibid.*, V, pp. 36f.; cf. *Dāṭhāvaṃsa*, III, 31.

[6] Cf. *Bhuridatta-Jātaka*, *Jātaka*, No. 543.

[7] Cf. *Jātaka*, IV, pp. 454f.

[8] Cf. *Saṅkhapāla-Jātaka*, *Jātaka*, No. 524.

[9] Cf. *Kapi Jātaka*, *Jātaka*, No. 250.

of vision, who had the five eyes.[1] Not you alone but there is a large number of people who have faith in him, so it is not unseemly for these to get even one portion. When he had thus told them the various reasons he convinced them.

17. Then all the chiefs spoke thus: 'Do you then, brāhman, yourself distribute the bodily remains of the Blessed One equally into eight parts, with a fair division?' 'Be it so, sirs!' said Doṇa the brāhman in assent to the chiefs, and distributed the relics equally with a fair division.

18. Herein the following course was adopted: Doṇa, it is said, after answering them in assent, had the golden vessel opened. The chiefs came, and even at the sight of the gold-coloured relics in the vessel, they lamented, saying: 'O Blessed One! the Omniscient! Formerly we saw thy gold-coloured body, adorned with the thirty-two marks and ornamented with the six-coloured rays of an Enlightened One. But now only thy gold-coloured relics remain behind. It is not fitting in thee, Blessed One!' At that time the brāhman, knowing their carelessness, took the right tooth, and placed it within his turban. Then he divided the remaining (relics) equally, with a fair division. All the relics were as many as sixteen tubes according to the measure of an ordinary tube. The people of each city obtained two tubes. As the brāhman was, however, dividing the relics, Sakka, king of the *devas*, thought: 'Who has taken the right tooth of the Blessed One which served as the basis for the discourse on the fourfold Truth for removing doubt in the world of men and *devas*?' While he was looking for it, he saw that it had been taken by the brāhman, and he thought: 'The brāhman will not be able to do honour worthy of the tooth, let me take it.' Taking it from within the turban (Sakka) placed it in a golden casket, and brought it to the *deva*-world, and established it in the tope of the Jewelled Crest. And the brāhman, dividing the relics, not seeing the tooth, could not even ask: 'Who has taken the tooth from me?' 'Were not the relics divided by you? Why did you not ascertain at the very beginning whether you had the relics?' Thus considering that he had brought the fault on himself, he was unable even to say: 'Give me also a share.' Thereupon he thought: 'This golden jar, too, with which the relics of the Tathāgata have been measured, is also of a relic-nature; I will erect a tope over it.' He said: 'Sirs! please give me this jar.' Then the chiefs gave the jar to the brāhman. The Moriyas of Pipphalivana,[2] too, hearing that

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[1] See *Niddesa*, II, No. 235: the physical eye, the *deva* eye, the eye of wisdom, the eye of enlightenment, the eye of omniscience. *Bhagavā pañcahi cakkhūhi cakkhumā*: *maṃsa cakkhunā . . . dibbena . . . paññā . . . buddha . . . samanta*. For explanations, see *Niddesa*, II, pp. 134–40; *Kathāvatthu*, III, 7; *Vin.*, I, 8, 288; *Saṃyutta*, IV, 292; *Aṅguttara*, I, 35; *Vinaya*, I, 6; *Saṃ.*, I, 137, 138; *Suttanipāta*, 345, 378.

[2] They were so called because they lived in a delightful land. According to some they were called Moriyas because they founded their city in a locality which always resounded with the cries of peacocks. The *Mahāvaṃsa Commentary* traces the origin of the Maurya dynasty to them (pp. 119–21)—B. C. Law, *Tribes in Ancient India*, pp. 288f.

the Blessed One had passed away entirely, sent a messenger with these words: 'The Blessed One was a noble; we, too, are nobles; we are also worthy of receiving a portion of the bodily remains of the Blessed One', and they set out ready for a fight, and arrived there. The chiefs spoke to them thus: 'There is no portion of the bodily remains of the Blessed One (left over): the bodily remains of the Blessed One are (all) distributed; please take the embers from here.' They took with them the embers from that place.

19. Now, king Ajātasattu had the road, twenty-five *yojanas* in length and eight *usabhas* in breadth, levelled between Kusinārā and Rājagaha. And even as the Malla chiefs had had honour done between Makuṭabandhana and the council hall, so also on the road extending twenty-five *yojanas*, when he had had honour done, and for the satisfaction of the people at large had laid out *bazaars* everywhere, and had had the relics enclosed in a golden vessel and surrounded by the lattice work of spears, he brought together the people in his own kingdom, five hundred *yojanas* in circumference. Taking the relics they left Kusinārā, celebrating the relics-festival, and wherever they found beautiful flowers, there they kept the relics amidst spears, going on when those flowers withered. They celebrated the sacred festival during seven days, having arrived at the last place where it was possible for a chariot to go. As they were coming thus with the relics, seven years and seven months and seven days passed by. The heretics thought: 'Since the recluse Gotama passed away entirely we have been disturbed by a tremendous sacred festival. All our occupations are destroyed.' Thus being annoyed they corrupted their minds, and about eighty-six thousands of them were reborn in a purgatory. The cankerwaned reflected: 'The people at large, corrupting their minds, are reborn in a purgatory.' They saw Sakka, king of the gods, and thought: 'We will devise a means of fetching the relics.' They went up to him, and informed him of the matter, and said: 'Your majesty, please devise a means of fetching the relics.' Sakka replied: 'There is none equal to Ajātasattu in point of ordinary faith; he will not do my bidding. On the other hand, I will display an awful sight like that of Māra.[1] I will cause seizing and throwing and confusion by the *yakkhas*. Please speak (to him) thus: "Your majesty, the non-human beings are angry; please have the relics brought", and thus he will have them brought.' Then Sakka did all this. And the elders approached the king and said: 'Your majesty, the non-human beings are angry; please have the relics brought.' The king replied: 'Reverend sirs! my mind is not yet satisfied, but when it is, please bring the relics.' They brought the relics on the seventh day. When the king had received the relics which had been thus brought, he erected a tope in Rājagaha. The other chiefs, too, having each taken away (the relics)

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[1] The spirit of evil of the Buddhists, the enemy of the good Law, Kāmadeva of Hinduism. For a detailed account, *vide* B. C. Law, *The Buddhist Conception of Māra*, *Buddhistic Studies* (ed. B. C. Law), pp. 257–83; Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Gotama the Man*, pp. 126-7; Mrs. R. D., *Kindred Sayings*, I, 156.

according to his own might, erected a tope each in his respective place. The brāhman Doṇa and the Moriyas of Pipphalivana also erected topes in their respective places.

One tope in Rājagaha, one in Vesālī city, one in Kapilavatthu, and one in Allakappa, one in Rāmagāma, and one in Veṭhadīpaka, one at Pāvā of the Mallas, and one in Kusinārā.[1]

These topes for the bodily remains were erected in Jambu island; with the topes for the ashes and the jar, these topes amount to ten.

And the ten topes for the best of beings are honoured by kings of men in a becoming way. These, throughout all worlds with their *devas*, will come to be revered everywhere.[2]

The account of the ten topes.

CHAPTER V

THE ACCOUNT OF THE DEPOSITING OF THE RELICS

1. When the topes had been founded thus, the Elder Kassapa the Great saw danger to the relics. He approached Ajātasattu, and said: 'Your majesty, the relics ought to be deposited in one place.' 'Very well, Venerable Sir! let the act of depositing be mine then, but how can I have the relics gathered?' 'Your majesty, to gather the relics is not your task, it is our task.' 'Very well, Venerable sir! please gather the relics; I will deposit them.' The Elder, leaving only those that were attended to by the different royal families, gathered the remaining relics. But the relics in Rāmagāma were taken away by the *Nāgas*. He thought: 'There is no danger to them, for in future a resident (monk) of the Great Monastery in the island of Laṅkā [3] will gather them at the Great Shrine.' So he did not gather them. When he had gathered the rest from the seven cities, and set them in the south-eastern quarter of Rājagaha, he resolved: 'Whatever rock there is at this place, let it vanish; let the dust be well cleansed, and let not water come up.' The king had that place dug up, and bricks ready with the dust drawn out of it, and had eighty topes for the great disciples built. And to those who enquired: 'What has the king built here?' They said: 'Shrines for the great disciples.' No one knew that the relics were being deposited. When that place was dug eighty cubits deep, he had an iron floor spread below, and there in the toped monastery, he had a room of bronze built as big as a shrine, and he also had caskets of yellow sandal and the like made, as well as topes, eight each.

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[1] *Vide* B. C. Law, *Geography of Early Buddhism*, pp. 11, 14, 15, 16, 28; B. C. Law, *Rājagriha in Ancient Literature* (*Memoir of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 58) for a systematic history of *Rājagriha*.

[2] Cf. *Buddhavaṃsa*, XXVIII, vv. 2–5; *Lineage of the Buddhas*, p. 87.

[3] Modern Ceylon.

2. Then he put the relics of the Blessed One into a casket of yellow sandal, and that casket of yellow sandal into another casket of yellow sandal and that also into another. Thus he put together eight caskets of yellow sandal. In this way, he placed the eight caskets in eight topes of yellow sandal, the eight topes of yellow sandal in eight caskets of red sandal, the eight caskets of red sandal into eight topes of deep red sandal, the eight topes of deep red sandal into eight caskets of ivory, the eight caskets of ivory into eight topes of ivory, the eight topes of ivory into eight caskets of all-jewels, the eight caskets of all-jewels into eight topes of all-jewels, the eight topes of all-jewels into eight caskets of gold, the eight caskets of gold into eight topes of gold, the eight topes of gold into eight caskets of silver, the eight caskets of silver into eight topes of silver, the eight topes of silver into eight caskets of gems, the eight caskets of gems into eight topes of gems, the eight topes of gems into eight caskets of rubies, the eight caskets of rubies into eight topes of rubies, the eight topes of rubies into eight caskets of cat's eyes,[1] the eight caskets of cat's eyes into eight topes of cat's eyes, the eight topes of cat's eyes into eight caskets of crystal, the eight caskets of crystal into eight topes of crystal. The topmost shrine of crystal was as big as the shrine of the toped monastery. Above it, he had a room built of all varieties of jewels. And over that he had (another) room built of gold, and over that one of silver and over that one of bronze. There he sprinkled quartzes of all varieties of jewels, and strewed thousands of flowers, born in water and land. The five hundred and fifty Birth-stories, the eighty great Elders, the queen Mahāmāyā of king Suddhodana, and the individuals born at the same time, all these he had constructed even of gold. He had vessels full of gold and silver arranged, five hundred each, and also five hundred golden banners. He had five hundred golden lamps made and filled with scented oil and provided with fine jute wicks. Then the Venerable Kassapa the Great resolved : 'Let the garlands be not withered, the perfumes not destroyed, and the lamps not extinguished', and on a golden plate he had letters incised (as follows): 'In the future, a prince named Piyadāsa, unfolding the royal canopy, will become a righteous king, Asoka by name. He will make these relics widespread.'

The king honoured them with all kinds of ornaments, and as he closed the doors, beginning with the first, he came out. Shutting the bronze door, he tied a seal ring and a key to the pulling-rope.[2] There he placed a great mass of gems, and had letters incised (as follows): 'Let needy kings in future honour the relics with this gem.' Sakka, the king of devas, sent Vissakamma, addressing him thus: 'Dear! the relics have been deposited by Ajātasattu; please keep guard there.' He came there, and when he had fixed a contrivance for killing wild beasts, and had taken up with his

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[1] *Masāra* or *Masāragalla* = emerald, and *galla* = crystal, a combination of the two means a precious stone, Cat's eye; it is also called Kabaramaṇi. Cf. *Vin.*, II, 238; *Milinda*, 267. See *Pali-English Dictionary* (*PTS*), p. 149(M).

[2] See *Vinaya*, II, 120, 148.

sword of crystal colour the wooden figures in that relic-chamber, and as swiftly as the wind, having set in order the edge of the space for circling round, he had it fastened with only one bolt, and made a stone-enclosure all round in the manner of a house of bricks. And when he had covered it with a similar one above and had removed the dust and levelled the ground, he erected a stone tope upon it.[1]

The account of the depositing of the relics.

CHAPTER VI

THE ACCOUNT OF THE EIGHTY-FOUR THOUSAND RELICS

1. When the depositing of relics was thus accomplished, an Elder who had lived the full span of his life, passed away entirely. The king, too, went away according to his deed, and the people (of his time) also died. Subsequently, the Prince Piyadāsa, unfolding the royal canopy, became a righteous king, Asoka by name; and he took those relics and placed them in eighty-four thousand shrines in Jambu island. How?

Bindusāra,[2] it is said, had a hundred sons. Asoka killed them all excepting prince Tissa who was born of his own mother. After killing them he reigned for four years without being consecrated. At the end of four years, more than two hundred and eighteen years since the Blessed One had passed away entirely, he obtained the consecration of a universal monarch in the whole of Jambu island. With the majesty of his consecration these extraordinary powers of a king came down upon him. His royal command spread as far as one *yojana* downward into the (depths of the) great earth, likewise upward into the air. Day by day did the gods bring sixteen pots of water with the help of eight carrying poles from the lake Anotatta, from which faith in the teaching (of the Buddha) having accrued, he gave eight pots to the order of monks, two pots to at least sixty monks who were versed in the three Piṭakas, two pots to the chief queen Asandhimittā, and four pots he himself used. In the Himavant, there was an ironwood-tree, called the tooth-wood, cool and sweet and tasteful which the *devatās* brought day by day. And it served daily the purpose of tooth-cleaner for the king and the chief queen and sixteen thousand dancers and at least sixty thousand monks. The *devatās* would bring daily for him emblic myrobalan and myrobalan fruits as medicine as well as ripe mango fruits of gold colour and full of scent. Likewise from the lake Chaddanta they would bring his undergarment and uppergarment of five colours, a yellow coloured cloth for wiping the hands and heavenly drink. The Nāga kings would bring daily for him articles for anointing and scents, and threadless cloth with a jasmine pattern for wearing, and

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[1] Cf. *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, II, pp. 609–615; Barua, *Barhut*, Bk. I, pp. 84f.

[2] Cf. *Samantapāsādikā*, I, pp. 41–49; *Mahāvaṃsa*, pp. 31–55.

costly collyrium from the Nāga abode. Parrots would bring every day nine thousand cartloads of rice produced in Chaddanta lake itself. Rats would convert them into husked grains and yet none of them was broken, and at all times the meals (prepared with) that very husked rice was provided for the king. The honey-bees would prepare honey. In the smithies bears wielded the hammers. Panthers shook the shields.[1] Karavikā-birds[2] would come and make offering to the king, warbling with their sweet voices. Endowed with these psychic powers, the king one day sent a golden chain for tying and brought unto him the great black Nāga king, who had obtained the appearance and sight of four Enlightened ones and had been living for an aeon and made him to sit on a costly seat under his white canopy. When (the king) had honoured him with flowers of many hundred colours, born in water and land, and with golden flowers, and had surrounded him on all sides by sixteen thousand dancers, adorned with all kinds of ornaments, he said: 'Please make visible to these eyes of mine the figure of the wholly Enlightened one of infinite knowledge, and superb turner of the Wheel of God Doctrine.' The figure of the Enlightened one created by that (Nāga king) was endowed with the power of merit throughout its entire body, it was adorned with the eighty minor marks and with the light of the thirty-two marks of a great man, it was like a sheet of water adorned with blossoms of red, white and blue lotuses, or like the sky resplendent with the beauty diffused by the glow of the multitudinous rays of the host of stars, or like the summit of a golden mountain overspread with the beauty of twilight and rainbows and lightnings, with the grace of the encircling light of a halo bound with rays of variegated colours divided into blue, yellow, red and the like, or like a golden mountain peak resplendent with its summit beautifully illumined by pure and spotless wreaths of many hued beams pleasing to the eyes of the multitudes of *Brahmās*, *devas*, men, serpents and *yakkhas*. And as (the king) was observing it, he did the homage called the Honour of the Eyes, for seven days.

2. The king, it is said, having obtained consecration, embraced the religious faith of the heretics for full three years. In the fourth year he had faith in the teaching of the Enlightened one. His father Bindusāra, it is said, was a supporter of the brāhmans. He gave constant food-supply to at least sixty thousand brāhmans, sects of those of brāhman descent and ash-bodied wanderers.

3. When the gift inaugurated by his father was thus being given in his own palace, Asoka, one day, standing at the window, saw those people who were taking food, controlled in outward conduct, but unrestrained in their senses and untrained in their way of deportment, and he thought: 'I ought to examine this kind of gift, and give it on a proper occasion.' Thus thinking he said to his ministers, 'Go, good sirs, and bring into the

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[1] *Camma* is also hide, skin.

[2] Indian cuckoo, *Jāt.*, V, 204, 416; VI, 539; B. C. Law, *Animals in early Jain and Buddhist Lit.*, *Indian Culture*, XII, No. I, p. 9.

palace recluses and brāhmans considered as revered by each of you; I will give the gift.' The ministers consented saying: 'Very good, sire', when they all had brought ash-bodied wanderers, naked ascetics, Jains[1] and the rest, they said: 'These, Your majesty, are our arahants.' Now, when the king had had various seats prepared in the palace, he said: 'Please come in' and to them who were coming in he said: 'Please, each one take a seat befitting you.' Some sat down on high chairs,[2] and some on wooden chairs.[3] Noticing it, the king realized: 'This is worthless[4] to them'; and giving solid and soft food suitable to them, he dismissed them.

4. As time went on thus, he one day, standing at the window, saw the recluse Nigrodha passing along the royal square, peaceful, controlled, of tranquil senses, and possessed of the right way of deportment. Who was this (man) named Nigrodha? He was the son of Prince Sumana, the eldest son of King Bindusāra.

5. In this connection, this is the successive account: It is said when Bindusāra had grown weak, prince Asoka came, abandoning the government of Ujjenī which he had taken on his own account, and when he had made himself master of the whole city, he seized Prince Sumana. That very day Prince Sumana's consort, named Sumanā, was ready to be delivered. She came out in disguise and went to a low-caste village near by and not far from the house of the headman of the low-caste, she was addressed by the residing deity in a banyan tree, thus: 'Come here, Sumanā!' Hearing the call she went to her. The deity built a hut by her own power and gave it to her saying: 'Live here'. She entered that hut, and the very day she went there, she gave birth to a son. Because of the protection given by the banyan deity, she gave him the name Nigrodha (Banyan).

6. Since the day the headman of the low-caste saw her, he looked on her as his master's daughter and always rendered services to her. The princess lived there for seven years. And Prince Nigrodha grew to be seven years old. Then an arahant named Elder Varuṇa the Great marked that the boy bore signs of his fortune, and while staying there, he thought: 'The boy is now seven years old, it is time to let him renounce the world', and when he had informed the princess, he let Prince Nigrodha renounce the world. The prince attained arahantship even in the *Tonsure hall* (*Khuragga*).[5]

7. One day in the morning, he, after taking care of his body and doing his duties towards his teachers and preceptors, took his cloak and bowl, and came out, thinking: 'I will go to the door of the house of my mother who is a female devotee.' And his mother's house was to be reached by entering the city at the south gate and then going through the centre of the city and then coming out by the western gate. At that time the righteous

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[1] B. C. Law, *Historical Gleanings*, Chap. VI.

[2] *Bhaddapiṭhaka* as at *Jātaka*, III, 410; *Vinaya*, II, 149.

[3] *Phalakapiṭṭhakesu*. Cf. *Phalaka* as a kind of chair at *Vin.*, II, 149.

[4] *Antosāra*, cf. *Jātaka*, IV, 9.

[5] Cf. *Petavatthu-aṭṭhakathā*, p. 53.

king Asoka was walking up and down at the window with his face turned towards the west. At that very moment the recluse Nigrodha who was of tranquil senses and tranquil mind, and who cast his eyes no more than a fathom's length (before him), reached the royal square. So it has been said: 'One day he, standing at the window, saw the recluse Nigrodha passing along the royal square—peaceful, controlled, of tranquil senses and possessed of the right way of deportment.' Having seen him, (the king) thought thus: 'All these people are of confused mind and are like staggering stupid persons; this boy, on the other hand, is of composed mind, and looks exceedingly beautiful as he turns forward and backward, or bends or stretches out his body. Surely, there must be the transcendental thing in this (boy).' At the very sight of the recluse the king's heart was calmed, and affection continued. Why? Formerly, while doing meritorious deeds, this (boy), it is said, was a merchant and the eldest brother of the king.

8. Thereafter the king, full of affection and respect, sent his ministers, saying: 'Call the recluse' and thinking: 'He delays too much', he again sent two and then three (persons), saying: 'Let him come soon'. The recluse came simply in the way usual with him. The king said: 'Please get a suitable seat and sit down.' The recluse looked hither and thither, and thought: 'Here is now no other monk.' And when he had come up to the royal couch over which was raised the white canopy, he gave signs to the king for receiving his bowl. As the king saw him going towards the couch, he thought thus: 'Now this very day this recluse will become master of this house.' When the recluse had handed over the bowl to the king, and had ascended the couch he sat there. The king brought him all kinds of rice-gruel as well as solid and soft food, prepared for himself. The recluse took only as much as he required for his own maintenance. When he had finished his meal, the king said: 'Do you know the exhortation given to you by your teacher?' 'I know, Your majesty, a solitary teaching.' 'Please tell me that too, dear one.' 'Very well, Your majesty.' In order to thank him for the meal he uttered the division on diligence in the *Dhammapada*,[1] suitable to the king. And as soon as the king heard: 'Diligence is the way to immortality; indolence is the way to death,'[2] he said: 'Dear! fulfil what has been understood by you.' After the thanksgiving, as he was invited at the head of thirty-two (monks) to partake of a meal, he entered the royal palace next day with thirty-two monks and took the meal. The king said: 'Let other thirty-two monks, too, take a meal also with you.' In this way, while daily increasing their number, he gave a continuous food-supply for sixty thousand monks in his palace out of faith in the Elder Nigrodha, and stopped the food supplied to sixty thousand brāhmans and wanderers. The Elder Nigrodha, too, having established the king together with his retinue in the Three Refuges and the Five Precepts, made them established with firm faith in the teaching of the Enlightened

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[1] *Appamādavagga.*

[2] *Dhammapada*, 21—*Appamādoamatapadaṃ, pamādomaccçunopadaṃ.*

one. When the king had built a great monastery called the Asoka Monastery he again bestowed food on sixty thousand monks. In eighty-four thousand cities in the whole of Jambu island he built eighty-four thousand monasteries with eighty-four thousand shrines, adorned fitly, and not unfitly.

9. One day, it is said, when the king had bestowed a great gift on the Order consisting of sixty thousand monks in the Asoka monastery and taken his seat in the midst of the Order of monks, and had presented the Order with the four kinds of requisites, he asked this question: 'Venerable sirs! what is the extent of the doctrine preached by the Blessed One?' 'Your majesty, it is ninefold, and there are eighty-four thousand main portions of the doctrine in respect of its constituents.' The king took faith in the doctrine, and thought: 'I will honour the main portions of the doctrine each with a monastery.' Spending even in one day ninety-six crores (of money) he ordered his ministers: 'Come, good sirs, and building one monastery in each city, get eighty-four thousand monasteries built in eighty-four thousand cities.' And he himself provided the work for the great Asoka dwelling-place in the Asoka monastery. The Order entrusted the task of superintending the building-work to the care of an Elder named Indagutta, who was of great psychic potency, of great might and canker-waned. All that could not be finished, the Elder finished by his own might. Thus he finished the work on the monastery in three years. Letters from all cities arrived on that same day. The ministers informed the king: 'Lord! the eighty-four thousand monasteries are finished.'[1] Then the king approached the Order of monks, and asked: 'Revered sirs, eighty-four thousand monasteries have been built by me; where shall I get the relics from?'

10. 'Your majesty, there was indeed a depositing of relics, but in what place is not known.' The king, having had the shrine in Rājagaha broken and not finding the relics, had it restored, and with the four retinues of monks and nuns and male and female lay devotees he went to Vesālī. Not getting them even there, he went to Kapilavatthu, and not getting them even there, he went to Rāmagāma. In Rāmagāma, the Nāgas did not allow the shrine to be broken. Spades thrown on the shrine were broken to pieces. Thus not getting them even there, he broke into the shrines everywhere, as at Allakappa, Pāvā and Kusinārā, but not getting the relics he had them restored, and (then he) went to Rājagaha, and having convened the four retinues, he asked: 'Has anybody previously heard in what place there was the depositing of relics?'

11. There an Elder, one hundred and twenty years old, said: 'I do not know where the depositing of relics took place; but when I was seven years old, my father, a great Elder, made me take a garland and a casket, and said: "Come, recluse, there is a tope of stone within such and such a bush, let us go there." After going there and honouring it, he said, "You should reflect upon these kinds of activity, recluse." This much I know,

[1] *Samantapāsādikā*, I, 49—goes on differently from here.

Your majesty.' 'It is this very place!' said the king, and when he had had the bush removed and the tope of stone as well as the dust taken out, he saw the surface of plaster below. When he had had the plaster and bricks removed from it, and had gradually got down to a mansion,[1] he saw sand for the seven kinds of jewels [2] eighty cubits long, and wooden figures rolling about at the edges. He sent for a temple slave [3] and even caused an offering to be made, and yet finding neither the beginning nor the end of it, he, while paying homage to the *devatās* said: 'Taking these relics will I deposit them in the eighty-four thousand monasteries and pay (them) reverence? Let not the *devatās* create an obstacle.' Sakka, the king of *devas*, while wandering about, saw this, and addressing Vissakamma, said: 'Dear! Asoka the righteous king has got down to a mansion thinking: I will bring out the relics. Go and fetch a wooden image.' He came in the appearance of a village boy with five locks of hair on the crown of his head, and stood in front of the mark with a bow in his hands, and said: 'Let me fetch it, Your majesty.' 'Fetch it dear.' He pierced it with an arrow exactly at the joint and everything was scattered about.

12. Then the king took the key and the seal ring, which were tied to the pulling rope and saw the mass of gem. But when he had seen the letters: 'Let needy kings in future honour the relics with this gem,' he became angry and thought: 'Is it proper to call kings like me needy kings?' When he had knocked again and again and had opened the door, he entered the inner chamber. The lamps, set up more than two hundred and eighteen years ago, burnt as before; the blue lotuses looked as if they had been brought that very moment; the spreading of flowers was as if it had been spread that very moment; they were arranged as if one had gone and picked them that very instant.

13. The king took the golden plate and said: 'I was seen by the master, the Elder, Kassapa the Great, when he opined: "In the future a Prince, named Piyadāsa, unfolding the royal canopy, will become a righteous king, Asoka by name. And he taking these relics, will make them widespread."' Having felt his left hand, he clapped it with his right hand (in joy). When he had set up a relic at that place merely for worshipping and had taken away all the remaining relics, and had closed the relic-room in the manner in which it was closed before and had caused everything to be done just as usual, and above it had established the shrine of stone, he established the relics in the eighty-four thousand monasteries. Thus Asoka the righteous king, had eighty-four thousand shrines built in the land of Jambu island.

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[1] *Pariveṇa-Veṇiyato pekkhitabbato pariveṇaṃ pāsāda-kūṭāgāra-ratti-ṭṭhān'ādi-sampannaṃ pākāraparikhittaṃ dvārakoṭṭhakayuttaṃ āvāsaṃ*: *Vimānavatthu-aṭṭhakathā*, 351.

[2] Or seven treasures belonging to a universal monarch. Sand was sprinkled at the place of festivities to make it look neat.

[3] *Yakkhadāsaka*.

'All the topes in the entire world are of one lustre and all of them lead to heaven and emancipation; the people who are mindful of their duties, should in all respects and at all times pay homage, leaving aside everything else.' [1]

The account of the Eighty-four Thousand Relics.

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[1] Cf. *Samantapāsādikā*, I, pp. 44–50; *Dīpavaṃsa*, VI; *Mahāvaṃsa*, pp. 31–55.

BOOK II (TOPES OF CEYLON)

CHAPTER I

THE ACCOUNT OF THE MONASTERY OF THE TOPES

1. When [1] Asoka, the righteous king, had thus made the eighty-four thousand monasteries equal and had paid homage to the great Elders, he asked: 'Revered sirs! am I an heir to the teaching of the Enlightened one?' 'Of what are you an heir, Your majesty? You are an outsider in regard to the teaching.' 'Revered sirs, I have spent ninety-six crores of wealth and have had eighty-four thousand monasteries with shrines built and yet I am not an heir. Who else is an heir?' 'You are a donor of the requisites, Your majesty. But he who lets his own son and daughter renounce the world, is an heir to the teaching.' When he was spoken to thus, King Asoka who had wished to be an heir to the teaching, saw Prince Mahinda standing nearby, and said: 'Dear son! will you be able to renounce the world?' When the prince, who by nature was anxious to renounce the world, had heard the king's words, he was exceedingly glad and replied: 'Let me renounce the world, sire. Having let me renounce the world, be you an heir to the teaching.'

2. And at that time the king's daughter Saṅghamittā, too, stood there. When (the king) saw her he said: 'Dear, will you, too, be able to renounce the world?' She consented, saying: 'Very well, Father.' Knowing the intention of his children, the king was delighted at heart, and approaching the Order of monks, said: 'Revered sirs, be pleased to let these children renounce the world, and make me an heir to the teaching.' The Order, having consented to the king's word, let the prince renounce the world through the Elder Moggaliputta-Tissa, his preceptor, and through the Elder Mahādeva, his teacher. They ordained him through the teacher, the Elder Majjhantika. Even in the (sanctified) enclosure for ordination, he attained arahantship together with analytic insight. And the lady teacher of the king's daughter Saṅghamittā was the therī (woman elder) Āyupālā by name, while her lady preceptor was the therī named Dhammapālā.

3. Then the Elder Mahinda, having mastered the Doctrine and the Discipline under his own preceptor from the time of his ordination onward, learnt, within three years, the doctrine of the Elder as compiled at the two Councils and comprised in the three Piṭakas, together with the commentaries, and he became the chief among the pupils of his own preceptor, consisting of a thousand monks.

4. [2] At that time the Elder Moggaliputta-Tissa, as he was investigating, 'Where, in future, may the teaching be well founded?' understood: 'It will be well founded in adjacent countries.' And he gave over the charge

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[1] Cf. *Samantapāsādikā*, I, pp. 50ff.

[2] Cf. *Mahāvaṃsa*, pp. 94–99.

to several monks, and sent forth these monks, one here and one there: he sent the Elder Majjhantika to Kashmīr and Gandhāra,[1] with these words: 'Please go to this country, and found the teaching there.' Saying likewise, he sent the Elder Mahādeva to Mahiṃsakamaṇḍala,[2] the Elder Rakkhita to Vanavāsī,[3] the Elder Dhammarakkhita, an inhabitant of Yona, to Aparāntaka,[4] the Elder Dhammarakkhita the Great to Mahāraṭṭha (Mahārāṣṭra), the Elder Rakkhita the Great to the land of the Yonas (Yavanas), the Elder Majjhima to part of the land bordering the Himalayas, the Elder Soṇa and the Elder Uttara to Suvaṇṇabhūmi.[5] To his own pupil, the Elder Mahinda, he said: 'Do thou go to Tambapaṇṇi island with the Elders Ittiya, Uttiya, Bhaddasāla and Sambala, and found the teaching there.' All of them, while going in this or that direction, went with him as the fifth. All these Elders converted the people wherever they went, and founded the teaching there. But commanded by his preceptor and the Order of monks thus: 'Do you go to Tambapaṇṇi island, and found the teaching there?', the Elder Mahinda pondered: 'Is it the right time, or not, for me to go to Tambapaṇṇi island?' He thought of the old age of King Muṭasiva: 'This great king is old, it is not possible with him to uphold the teaching but presently his son Devānaṃpiyatissa will reign, with him it will be possible to uphold the teaching; well then, let us visit the kinsmen until that time comes.' Then again, he thought: 'Are we to come back again, or not, to this country?' When he had thought thus and had paid homage to his preceptor and the Order of monks, he left the Asoka monastery taking with him those four Elders, Ittiya and the rest, as well as the recluse Sumana, son of Saṅghamittā, and the lay devotee Bhanduka. As he was walking for alms in the Dakkhiṇagiri country,[6] close to the city of Rājagaha, he passed six months in visiting (his) kinsmen. Then he gradually reached the city of Vedisa,[7] the dwelling place of his mother. And when the queen mother of the Elder saw that the Elder had arrived, she bowed down her head at his feet, and offered him food, and dedicated to the Elder Vedisa Hill monastery, built by herself.

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[1] *Gandhāra* comprises the districts of Peshāwar and Rawalpindi in the northern Punjab.

[2] Modern Mysore. Fleet takes it as the territory of Māhiṣa of which the capital was Māhiṣmati. Agreeing with Pargiter he places this capital on the island of the river Narmadā now called Mandhātā.

[3] It is in north Kanara.

[4] The western ends comprising the territories of northern Gujarat, Kathiawar, Kaccha and Sind.

[5] Lower Burma with adjacent districts; cf. *Saddhamma-Saṅgaha*, IV; B. C. Law, *A Manual of Buddhist Historical Traditions*, p. 47.

[6] It lay to the south of Rājagaha beyond the hills that surrounded the city—*Suttanipāta Commentary*, I, 136; *Majjhima Commentary*, II, 795.

[7] In the text, written as *Veṭisa—Thūpavaṃsa* (*PTS*), edited by B. C. Law, p. 43. It is modern Bhilsa in Gwalior State, situated 26 miles north-east of Bhopal (B. C. Law, *Ujjayinī in Ancient India*, p. 2; Raichaudhuri, *Political History*, 4th Ed., p. 308; V. A. Smith, *The Early History of India*, 4th Ed., p. 210).

5. Seated in that monastery, the Elder thought: 'Here our duty is finished. Is it time now to go to the island of Laṅkā?' Thereafter he thought: 'Let Devānampiyatissa now undergo the consecration sent by my father, and hear the merit of the Three Jewels. And let him come out of the city and ascend Missaka-mountain for the festival. We shall then meet him there.'

6. Thereafter he stayed there a month. At the end of the month Sakka,[1] the king of the gods, approached the Elder Mahinda and spoke thus: 'Revered sir! king Muṭasiva is dead; king Devānampiyatissa now reigns. And it has been predicted of you by the wholly Enlightened one. In the future, the monk, named Mahinda, will convert Tambapaṇṇi island. Consequently, revered sir, it is time to go to the excellent island; and I will be your companion.' The Elder, having consented to his words, himself rose up in the air from the monastery on Vedisa mountain with six others and alighted on the Missaka mountain, which is now also known as the Cetiya mountain, on the eastern side of Anurādhapura. On that day, there was a constellation connected with the beginning of the (month of) Jeṭṭha in Tambapaṇṇi island. When the king had had the constellation proclaimed, and bidden his ministers: 'Celebrate the festival', he, attended by forty thousand of his men, having left the city, set out for Missaka mountain in order to enjoy the pleasures of the chase. Now, the *devatā* presiding over that mountain thought: 'I will show the Elders to the king', and having assumed the form of an elk-stag, she wandered about as though browsing on grass and leaves. Seeing him the king thought: 'It is unseemly to kill a careless (creature) now', and he struck out (a sound from) his bow-string. The stag got on the road to Ambatthala,[2] and began to flee; and the king pursued him very closely and ascended to Ambatthala; the stag vanished near the Elders. When the Elder Mahinda (saw) the king coming nearer, he resolved: 'Let the king see me only, not others', and he said to him: 'Tissa, Tissa, come hither.' On hearing (this) the king thought: 'There is none born in this Tambapaṇṇi island, who having learnt my name, can call me Tissa. But this man, wearing a torn cloak, shaven-headed and having a yellow garment, calls me by my name. Who can this be, is he human or non-human?' The Elder said:

Recluses are we, Your majesty, disciples of the King of Righteousness.[3] Out of compassion towards thee are we come hither from Jambu island.[4]

7. At that time King Devānampiyatissa and Asoka, the righteous king, were friends, though they had never seen each other. And because of the might of King Devānampiyatissa's merit, there grew up, at the foot of Chata mountain, three bamboo-stems in one bamboo-grove: one was

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[1] Cf. *Samantapāsādikā*, I, 71ff.

[2] A little tableland. Cf. *Mahāvaṃsa*, XIII, 20—gaṇena idhāgamma rammo Missakapabbate aṭṭhāsi sīlakūṭamhi rucirambatthale vare.

[3] I.e. of Gotama Buddha.

[4] Cf. *Mahāvaṃsa*, Ch. XIV, v. 8; *Samantapāsādikā*, I, 74—*taṃ eva anukampāya Jambudīpā idhāgatā.*

called the creeper-stem, one the flower-stem, and one the bird-stem. Of these the creeper-stem itself shone like silver and the creeper which had grown up adorning it appeared golden coloured; on the flower-stem again might be seen flowers of blue, yellow, red, white and dark colours, well divided into stalks, leaves and filaments; on the bird-stem might be seen birds, such as swans, cocks, *jīvanjīvaka* birds [1] and so on, as well as quadrupeds of many kinds, as though they were alive. And jewels of many varieties such as pearls, gems, *lapis lazulis* and so on, came forth out of the ocean. But there were produced in Tambapaṇṇi pearls of eight kinds, namely, horse-pearl, elephant-pearl, chariot-pearl, myrobalan-pearl, bracelet pearl, ring-pearl, *kakudha* fruit-pearl, and common pearls. Those (bamboo) stems and those pearls and many other jewels he sent to Asoka, the righteous king, as gifts. Asoka was glad and sent (as a return-gift) the five insignia of royalty [2] and many other gifts for his consecration. He sent not only this material gift but also, it is said, this gift of Dhamma (Doctrine), saying: 'I have taken refuge in the Enlightened One, his Doctrine and his Order; I have declared myself a lay devotee in the religion of the Sākya's son.[3] Seek then even thou, O best of men, refuge in these three best things, converting thy mind with a believing heart.' [4]

8. Remembering this message of the teaching, which he had heard recently, and hearing the Elder saying: 'Recluses are we, Your majesty, disciples of the King of Righteousness', the king thought: 'Have the masters come?' and instantly he put down his weapon and sat down on one side, exchanging friendly greetings. Even while they were exchanging friendly greetings, there came also those forty thousand men (of the king) and surrounded him. Then the Elder caused the other people also (who had come with him) to become visible. When the king saw (them), he asked: 'When did these come?' '(They came) with me, Your majesty.' 'But are there now in Jambu island other recluses also like these?' 'Your majesty, Jambu island is now gleaming with yellow robes, and surrounded by the winds of saints.' In this connection:

'There are many disciples of the Buddha, who are (well versed in) the threefold knowledge, attained to psychic powers, skilled in reading the thoughts of others, cankerwaned and arahants.' [5]

9. Then the king departed, saying, 'Revered sir, to-morrow I will send a chariot, do you get into it and come?' No sooner had the king gone away than the Elder addressed the recluse Sumana thus: 'Come Sumana, do you announce the time of preaching the doctrine?' When the recluse had reached the fourth stage of meditation,[6] forming the basis

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[1] A kind of pheasant, *JBBRAS.*, Vol. 13, 1937, p. 24.

[2] Mentioned at *Jātaka*, V, 264 as the fan, diadem, sword, canopy, slippers; and at *Samantapāsādikā*, I, 75 as the canopy, chowrie, sword, diadem, slippers.

[3] I.e. of Gotama Buddha, born in the Sakyian race.

[4] Cf. *Mahāvaṃsa*, Ch. XI, vv. 34-35; *Samantapāsādikā*, I, 76.

[5] *Samantapāsādikā*, I, 77.

[6] B. C. Law, *Concepts of Buddhism*, Ch. VI.

for the higher knowledge, and had come out of it, he having resolved with composed thought announced the time of preaching the doctrine, making it heard over the whole of the island of Tambapaṇṇi. The earth-gods, hearing the summons of the recluse, echoed it, and in this way the call rose as far as the Brahma-world. Because of that summons there came together a great assembly of gods. When the Elder saw that a great assembly of gods had come together, he preached the *Samacitta-Suttanta*.[1] At the end of the preaching, the gods without number were converted to the doctrine, and many nāgas and 'fair-wing' birds [2] were established in the refuges.

10. Now at the end of that night the king sent a chariot for the Elders. An Elder said: 'We will not mount into a chariot, you go, we will follow you.' Saying this, they rose up into the air and descended to the east of Anurādhapura at the place where the first tope was (afterwards built). The king, too, sending his charioteer, had a pavilion provided (for them) within the royal precincts, and pondered: 'Will the masters indeed sit upon the seats ?' Even while he was thinking thus, the charioteer reached the city-gate and saw that the Elders had arrived before him and were putting on their robes after fastening their waist bands. When he saw them he was exceedingly glad, and he came and told the king: 'Sire, the Elders have come.' 'Did they mount into the chariot ?' asked the king. 'No, sire, they did not mount; moreover although they started later, they arrived earlier and stood at the east gate.' On hearing: 'They did not mount into the chariot', the king said: 'Well then, good sirs, prepare the seats as if they were ground coverings', and he went to meet them. The ministers had a mat made ready on the earth with variegated coverings upon it such as fleecy rugs and the like. And when the king had gone and had paid homage to the Elders, he took the alms-bowl from the Elder Mahinda's hand and with great honour and hospitality he led the Elders into the city and then into the royal precincts.

11. When the king, with his own hands, had served the Elders with sumptuous food, solid and soft, he sent for five hundred women headed by the queen Anulā (with these words): 'Let them pay homage and show honour and hospitality to the Elders', and he himself sat down on one side. The Elder, while pouring down a shower of jewels of the doctrine, preached the *Petavatthu*,[3] the *Vimānavatthu* [4] and the *Sacca-saṃyutta* [5] to the king and his people. And on hearing this, those five hundred women attained to the fruition of Stream-Winners.

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[1] *Aṅguttara-Nikāya*, Vol. I, pp. 61–69; for details see B. C. Law, *History of Pali Lit.*, I, p. 181.

[2] *Supaṇṇa*, a mythical creature imagined as winged, considered as foe to the Nāgas.

[3] It contains little poems illustrating belief in the existence of life beyond death and sufferings after death for having done evil deeds while on earth. B. C. Law, *History of Pali Lit.*, I, 261 foll.

[4] It gives in verse a graphic description of certain celestial abodes enjoyed by the *devas* for having done meritorious deeds while on earth as human beings. *Ibid.*, pp. 260-261.

[5] *Saṃyutta-Nikāya*, Vol. V, pp. 414–478; B. C. Law, *History of Pali Lit.*, I, p. 179.

12. Then the citizens, hearing of the merits of the Elders, began to blame (the king) saying: 'We have not been able to see the Elders.' Then the king thought: 'Here is no space', and he said: 'Go, good sirs, and cleanse the elephant-stable and spread sand and sprinkle flowers of five colours over it and fix the canopy and prepare seats for the Elders in the state-elephant's place.' The ministers did accordingly. When the Elder had gone there and had taken his seat, he preached the *Devadūta-Suttanta.*[1] At the end of the preaching a thousand persons were established in the fruition of Stream-Winners. Thus when they had found that the elephant-stable was crowded, they prepared seats at the south gate, in the Nandana garden.[2] When the Elder had seated himself there, he preached the *Āsīvisopama-Suttanta.*[3] And on hearing this, a thousand persons acquired the fruition of Stream-Winners. Thus within the two days since the day of his arrival, two and a half thousand persons penetrated the doctrine.

13. While the Elder was exchanging friendly greetings with women of respectable families and daughters-in-law of respectable families and maidens of respectable families who had come to the Nandana grove, evening fell. The Elder marked the time and got up saying: 'I will now go to Missaka mountain.' The ministers made the Elders stay in the garden of the Mahāmegha grove. And at the end of that night the king went to the Elder and asked whether he had had a pleasant rest there and enquired: 'Is a park allowed to the Order of monks, revered sir?' 'It is allowed,[4] Your majesty', replied the Elder. The king rejoiced, and when he had taken a golden water-pot and had poured water over the hand of the Elder he presented the garden of the Mahāmegha grove. The Elder took his meal the next day also in the palace and preached the *Anamattaggiyas*[5] in the Nandana grove. On the following day, he preached the *Aggikkhandopama-Suttanta.*[6] In this way, he preached (the doctrine) for seven days. Eight and a half thousand persons penetrated the doctrine. But on the seventh day, the Elder preached the *Appamāda-Suttanta*[7] to the king in the royal abode and went to the Cetiya mountain.

14. Now, the king thought: 'The Elder has come of his own accord without being invited, so his going back may also happen without his asking (permission) for it.' And, mounting into the chariot, he went with high royal dignity to the Cetiya mountain, and having arrived and approaching the Elders, he came up (to them) as though much wearied. At this an Elder said to him: 'Why are you, great king, coming here wearied in this way?' 'Revered sir, I am anxious to know whether you, after instructing me so

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[1] *Majjhima-Nikāya*, Vol. III, pp. 178–187.

[2] Cf. *Mhv.*, xv, 178-9; *Mahābodhivaṃsa*, 133.

[3] This may refer to *Saṃyutta*, IV, 172–5 or to *Aṅguttara*, II, 110-111, see also *VA*, i, 80; *Mhbv.*, 114.

[4] Cf. *Vinaya*, I, 39.

[5] *S.*, ii, 178ff., see also *VA.*, i, 81; *Mhv.*, xv, 186; *Mhbv.*, 114.

[6] *A.*, iv, 128f.

[7] Suttas of this name at *S.*, i, 86, 87; ii, 132; v, 30, 32ff.; *A.*, ii, 119f.; iii, 364; v, 21f.

closely, wish to go back now.' 'We do not wish to go back, Your majesty. Moreover this is the time for the approach of the rainy season, (so) a recluse ought to find a place for what is known as the commencement of the *Vassa* ceremony.'[1] And the king, the moment he had started the work of building sixty-eight cells,[2] having encircled the open space round the Karaṇḍaka-shrine, returned to the city. And those Elders spent the rains on the Cetiya mountain [3] instructing the multitude.

15. Now when the Venerable Mahinda the Great had spent the rains and had held the Pavāraṇā ceremony [4] on the observance [5] day of the full-moon (of the month) of Kattika, he spoke to the king thus: 'Long is the time, Your majesty, since we have seen the wholly Enlightened one. There is nothing (here for us) to worship and attend with care and honour with raised hands and do homage to, so we are longing (for him).' 'Have you not told me, Revered sir, that the wholly Enlightened one has passed away entirely?' 'Although, Your majesty, he has passed away entirely, yet there are his bodily remains.' 'I have come to know (your intention), Revered sir. Let me build a tope and you select the site.' He further said: 'Whence shall I get the relics?' 'Take counsel with Sumana, Your majesty.' The king approached Sumana and asked: 'Revered sir, whence shall we now get the relics?' Sumana replied: 'Your majesty, do not worry. When you have had the roads cleared and have had them adorned with banners and flags and filled pots, and have undertaken the observance together with your retinue, go in the evening, attended by all classes of musicians and mounted on your state-elephant, adorning it with all kinds of ornaments and having raised the white parasol over it, to the garden of the great Nāga-grove. There you will certainly obtain the relics.' The king consented, saying: 'Very well.' The Elders went to the Cetiya mountain.

16. Now the Venerable Elder Mahinda said to the recluse Sumana: 'You go, recluse, and when you have approached Asoka, the righteous king, in Jambu island, your grandfather, deliver (to him) this word from me: "Your friend, Your majesty, Devānampiyatissa, who has been converted to the teaching of the Enlightened one, wishes to build a tope. The alms-bowl that the Blessed One used as well as his relics are said to be with you; will you give it [6] to me?" When you have received it, go to Sakka, king of the *devas*, and speak to him thus: "Your majesty, two relics, one the right tooth and the other the right collar-bone (of the Buddha), are said to be with you. Of these, do you worship the right tooth and give me the right collar-bone. Why? Because, Your majesty, you have been indifferent (to us) after sending us to the island of Tambapaṇṇi."' Sumana consented to the Elder's word, saying: 'Very well, Revered sir.' Taking his alms-bowl

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[1] *Vinaya*, I, 137.

[2] *Aṭṭhasaṭṭhiyā leṇesu*, *Vinaya*, IV, 48; *Milinda*, 151.

[3] The later name of the Missaka mountain is given on account of many shrines built there (Geiger, *Mahāvaṃsa*, tr. p. 114 f.n.).

[4] See *Vinaya*, I, 157ff.

[5] *Uposathadivase*, *Vinaya*, I, 101ff.

[6] I.e. the alms-bowl.

and cloak, he immediately went by air and came down at the entrance of Pāṭaliputta. He went to the king and informed him of the matter. When the king, delighted at heart, had received the alms-bowl from the recluse's hand and had entertained him with food, he gave him the Blessed One's alms-bowl, having anointed it with perfumes and having filled it with the relics as with beautiful pearls.

17. When he had received it, he approached Sakka, king of the *devas*. Sakka, king of the *devas*, saw the recluse and said: 'Why are you touring about, Revered Sumana?' 'Your majesty, why have you been indifferent (to us) after sending us to the island of Tambapaṇṇi?' 'I have not been indifferent, Revered sir. Tell me what I should do.' 'Two relics, one the right tooth and the other the right collar-bone, are said to be with you. Of these you worship the right tooth but give me the right collar-bone.' 'Very well, Revered sir!' said Sakka the lord of the *devas*, and when he had had the Gem-tope opened to the measure of a *yojana*, and had taken out the right collar-bone, he gave it to Sumana. Having taken it, he placed it on the Cetiya mountain.

18. Then, when all those great saints headed by Mahinda had placed the relics, given by Asoka, the righteous king, on the Cetiya mountain, they went with the right collar-bone, as evening drew near, to the garden of the Mahānāga-grove. And in the evening the king, mounted on the back of a beautiful elephant, reached the park of the Mahānāga-grove bearing the white parasol over the head of the state-elephant and showing honour and reverence in the manner told by Sumana. Then this occurred to him: 'If this be a relic of the wholly Enlightened one, then shall my parasol bow down of itself and the state-elephant shall stand on its knees on the ground and the relic-casket shall descend upon my head.' As soon as the king had thought this, the parasol bowed down of itself and the elephant stood on its knees and the relic-casket descended upon the king's head. The king said, 'It is so' and as though sprinkled with it, he became exceedingly joyous and glad, and asked: 'What shall I do with the relic, Revered sir?' 'Simply place it on the frontal globe of the elephant, Your majesty.' The king placed the relic-casket on the frontal globe of the elephant. Then did the elephant trumpet joyfully and a great cloud appeared and showered down rains for the ponds and there was a great earthquake right up to water, signifying: 'Relics of the wholly Enlightened one will also be established in an adjacent (country).'

19. Now, when that heroic elephant, surrounded by many musicians, had paid reverence with highly magnificent honour and respect and had turned about with its face towards the west, and had gone up to the east-gate of the city, he entered the city by that gate, and when magnificent honour had been shown in the whole city, he came out by the south-gate and went to the place which, it is said, was called the ground of the great sacrifice, to the west of the monastery of the tope and then again he turned back with its face towards the monastery of the tope. And it was the very place where shrines had been built (formerly) over the genuine water

pot, girdle and water-strainer of three previous Buddhas. And when the shrines were destroyed, the spot was surrounded with branches full of thorns and with various shrubs so that one might not pollute it with rejected and impure excrements and rubbish. Now the king's men went there before that elephant, and when they had removed all the shrubs and had cleared the ground, they made it as (clean as) the palm of a hand. The heroic elephant went there and keeping that spot in front of it, stood on the place where (stood afterwards) the Bodhi-tree, to the west of it. Then they began to take the relic down from its head. The elephant would not suffer it to be taken down. (The king) asked the Elder: 'Why, Revered sir, does the elephant not suffer the relic to be taken down?' 'What has gone up, Your majesty, ought not to be taken down.'

20. And at that time water dried up in the Abhaya-tank, the surrounding soil was cracked, it was easy to lift up lumps of clay. The multitude very speedily brought clay from there and made a foundation as high as the frontal globe of an elephant, and began to make bricks for building a tope. For some days the heroic elephant stood during the day-time at the place where the Bodhi-tree (stood afterwards), in the elephant-stable, until the bricks were ready, and during the night it went round the spot where the tope was (afterwards) erected.

21. Now, when the king had had the foundation constructed, he asked the Elder: 'What sort of tope is to be built, Revered sir?' 'One like a heap of rice, Your majesty.' 'Very well,' said the king, and when he had had the tope constructed to the height of a knee, he caused great reverence to be shown during the taking down of the relic (from the elephant's back). Thereupon all citizens and country people assembled to witness the festival of the relic. When the multitude had assembled, the relic of him of the ten powers rose up in the air from the frontal globe of the elephant to the height of seven palmyra trees and displayed the Twin-miracle. From those regions where the relic was, the six-coloured rays and streams of water and masses of fire poured down. It was a miracle just like the one displayed by the Blessed One at the foot of the Gaṇḍamba tree [1] in Sāvatthī.[2] And it was due neither to the power of the Elders nor to that of the *devas* but it was due to the power of the Enlightened ones alone. It is said that the Blessed One, as if having it in mind, resolved: 'There shall be a Twin-miracle on the day when the relic of my right collar-bone is established at the place where lay the shrines of three previous Buddhas to the south of Anurādhapura in the Tambapaṇṇi island.'

'Thus are the Enlightened ones incomprehensible, and incomprehensible are the qualities of the Enlightened ones, and incomprehensible is the reward of those who have faith in the incomprehensible.' [3]

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[1] Cf. *Dāṭhāvaṃsa*, V, 54.

[2] Capital of northern Kośala, *vide* B. C. Law, *Tribes in Ancient India*, pp. 117ff.

[3] Cf. *Apadāna*, Buddhāpadāna, v. 77; *Mahāvaṃsa*, XVII, v. 56. Evaṃ acintiyā buddhā, buddhadhammā acintiyā, acintiye pasannānaṃ vipāko hoti acintiyo.

22. There was hardly any space on the surface of the entire island of Tambapaṇṇi left untouched by the drops of water pouring down from the relic (of the Buddha's) body. Thus when the relic of his body had appeased the heat of the dry land of Tambapaṇṇi by the drops of water and had displayed the Twin-miracle to the multitude, it came down and rested on the king's head. The king, considering his attainment of human existence to be fruitful, established the relic after doing great reverence. As soon as the relic was established, there was a great earthquake. When the tope was completed, the king and the king's brothers and the queens each built a tope causing surprise to the *devas, nāgas* and *yakkhas.*

'Thus by the relics of his body, the Conqueror, who had already passed in bliss, truly bestowed welfare and happiness in abundance upon mankind. How much could the service (done to him) do when the Master yet lived ?' [1]

Here ends the account of the monastery of the topes complied for the serene joy and emotion of good people.

CHAPTER II

THE ACCOUNT OF THE ARRIVAL OF THE BO-TREE

1. When [2] the honouring of the relic was completed and the superb relic was established, the Elder Mahinda went to the garden of the Mahāmegha-grove and stayed there. At that time the lady Anulā wished to renounce the world and informed the king. On hearing her words the king spoke to the Elder thus: 'Revered sir, the lady Anulā wishes to renounce the world; will you let her renounce the world ?' 'Your majesty, it is not allowable for us to let womenfolk renounce the world; there is, however, in Pāṭaliputta the woman Elder, named Saṅghamittā, my sister; send for her, Your majesty. And in this island the Bodhi-tree of each of three previous highly supreme Buddhas was planted. The Bodhi-tree of our Blessed One, emitting a glow of rays with their essential properties, should also be planted (here). Therefore you should send a message so that Saṅghamittā might come with the Bodhi-tree.' The king consented to the Elder's word, and while he was taking counsel with his ministers, he said to his own nephew (sister's son) named Ariṭṭha: 'Are you, my dear, able to go to Pāṭaliputta and bring back the great Bodhi-tree together with the lady, the woman Elder Saṅghamittā ?' 'I am able to do so, sire, if you will consent to my renouncing the world.' 'Go then, my dear! and renounce the world after bringing back the woman Elder.' When he had received the message of the king and the Elder, he went to the port of Jambukola

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[1] Cf. *Mahāvaṃsa*, XVII, v. 65. Sakadhātusarīrakena cevaṃ parinibbāṇagato pi lokanātho, janatāya hitaṃ sukhaṃ ca sammā bahudhākāsi, ṭhitejino kathā kā ? ti.

[2] Cf. *Samantapāsādikā*, I, 90–99.

in one day by means of the Elder's resolve, and when he had embarked in a boat and had crossed the ocean, he went to Pāṭaliputta and delivered the king's message: 'Sire, your son, the Elder Mahinda, spoke thus: "The wife of the brother of your friend Devānampiyatissa, the lady Anulā by name, wishes to renounce the world. To ordain her, please send the lady, the woman Elder Saṅghamittā and with the lady the great Bodhi-tree."' Having delivered the Elder's message, he approached Saṅghamittā and spoke thus: 'Lady, your brother, the Elder Mahinda, has sent me to you. The wife of the brother of king Devānampiyatissa, the lady Anulā by name, wishes to renounce the world together with five hundred maidens and five hundred women of the royal household. It is said that you, having come, will let her renounce the world.' She at once went speedily and told the king this matter, and said: 'I am going to the island of Tambapaṇṇi (Ceylon), Your majesty.' 'Go then, my dear, with the great Bodhi-tree', so said (the king), and when he had had the road from Pāṭaliputta to the great Bodhi-tree attended to, he started from Pāṭaliputta with a great army, seven *yojanas* in length and three *yojanas* in width, and taking an order of noble ones, he came near the great Bodhi-tree. With his troops he surrounded the great Bodhi-tree on which were raised flags and banners, and which was decorated with various jewels, bedecked with manifold ornaments, bestrewn with different kinds of flowers and resounding with many kinds of musical instruments. Then the king honoured it with flowers, perfumes, garlands and so on. And when he went thrice round the Bodhi-tree keeping it to his right side and had bowed down at the eight points, he rose and stood with folded hands; and when he desirous of receiving (a branch of) the Bodhi-tree by a solemn declaration, had mounted upon a silver seat and taken a pencil, he wrote with red arsenic and made the solemn declaration.

'If the great Bodhi-tree should be planted in the island of Laṅkā, and if I should become unalterably firm in the teaching of the Enlightened one, let (a branch of) the great Bodhi-tree plant itself in this golden vase.' [1]

No sooner had the solemn declaration been made than a branch of the Bodhi-tree severed itself at the place marked with red arsenic and rested over the golden vase filled with fragrant earth. Then the king brought the great Bodhi-tree with great reverence from the Bodhi-terrace to Pāṭaliputta.[2] And when he had bestowed all kinds of honour upon it, and had had the great Bodhi-tree put on a ship in the Ganges, he himself came out of the city and having passed through the Viñjha-forest he gradually reached Tāmalitta [3] in one week and on the way *devas* and *nāgas* and men

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[1] Cf. *Mahāvaṃsa*, XVIII, vv. 40-41.

[2] The village of Pāṭaligāma stood on the right bank of the Ganges on the same high road, opposite Koṭigāma, a locality in an extremity of the Vajji territory. Pāṭaligāma having been fortified gave rise to the city of Pāṭaliputta, the second and later capital of Magadha which suffered thrice from the action of water, fire and earthquake. *Dīgha*, II, 88.

[3] Tāmalitti = Modern Tamluk, *vide* B. C. Law, *Geography of Early Buddhism*, p. 68; *Mahāvaṃsa*, XIX, 6; *Dīpavaṃsa*, XVI, 2.

honoured the splendid great Bodhi-tree. When the king had had the great Bodhi-tree placed on the sea-shore, he paid it great reverence for a week. And when he had had the Bodhi-tree placed in a ship, and also the woman Elder Saṅghamittā with her retinue, he spoke thus: 'The great Bodhi-tree of him of the ten powers is indeed going away, emitting a glow of rays with their essential properties,' [1] weeping he stood with folded hands, and shed tears. The ship, too, laden with the great Bodhi-tree fared forth into the ocean, while the great king gazed at it. And in the great ocean, for a *yojana* around, the waves were stilled, lotuses of the five colours blossomed; heavenly musical instruments resounded in the air; by the *devatās* residing in the sky and water and landthe most splendid honour was provided. Thus in the midst of great honour the ship entered the port of Jambukola.

2. And the great king Devānampiyatissa had the road from the north-gate up to the port of Jambukola cleaned and adorned, and on the day he left the city he stood near the north-gate, on the site where the *Samudda-sālā* (Sea-hall) was (afterwards built), and when by the power of the Elder, he saw the great Bodhi-tree coming in that grandeur over the great ocean glad at heart, he came out strewing the whole road with flowers of the five colours and putting decorations of flowers right in the middle and he went even in one day to the port of Jambukola. Surrounded by all kinds of musicians, he, while honouring with flowers, perfumes and incense and so on, descended neck-deep into the water and exclaimed: 'Sending forth a glow of rays with their essential properties, the Bodhi-tree of him of the ten powers is indeed arriving.' Delighted at heart, he lifted up the great Bodhi-tree and had it placed upon his head; and having attended upon the great Bodhi-tree together with sixteen persons of noble families who had come, he emerged from the sea, and had the Bodhi-tree set upon the sea-shore; and he honoured it for three days by (bestowing on it) the lordship of the whole of Tambapaṇṇi. Then on the fourth day taking the great Bodhi-tree and doing it splendid honour, they gradually reached Anurādhapura. He did it great reverence in Anurādhapura also, and on the fourteenth day when under spreading shadows he brought in the great Bodhi-tree by the north-gate and conveyed it through the middle of the city and took it out by the south-gate, and had it planted at a distance of five hundred bows from the south-gate, at the place where our wholly Enlightened one had sat when he had attained the trance of cessation, and where the three former wholly Enlightened ones had also sat having attained the trance. And at the place where the Bodhi-tree *Acacia sirissa* of the Blessed Kakusandha, the Bodhi-tree *Ficus Glomerata* of the Blessed Koṇāgamana and the Bodhi-tree *Ficus Indica* of the Blessed Kassapa had stood firmly, there he planted the great Bodhi-tree among sesame-like vegetation already prepared for the purpose, at the gateway of the royal abode, in the garden of Mahāmegha-grove.

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[1] Cf. *Mahāvaṃsa*, Ch. XIX, v. 15.

'Thus for the welfare of Laṅkā and for the growth of the teaching, the great Bodhi-tree was planted in the pleasant Mahāmegha-grove.' [1]

The Account of the arrival of the Bodhi-tree.

CHAPTER III

THE ACCOUNT OF THE TOPES AT THE DISTANCE OF EVERY YOJANA

1. [2] The lady Anulā with one thousand women, five hundred maidens and five hundred palace women, having renounced the world under the woman Elder Saṅghamittā, was soon established in arahantship with her retinue. Ariṭṭha, the king's nephew, also, together with five hundred men, having renounced the world under the Elder, was soon established in arahantship with his retinue.

2. Then, one day, the king, having paid homage to the Bodhi-tree, went to the monastery of the tope with the Elder. When he had reached the place where the Lohapāsāda [3] was (afterwards built), his men brought flowers. The king handed over the flowers to the Elder. The Elder reverenced the place of the Lohapāsāda with the flowers. As soon as the flowers fell on the earth, there was a great earthquake. The king asked: 'Why, Revered sir, does the earth quake?' 'At this place, Your majesty, there will be in the future a hall for the observance of the Order; this is a presage of it,' replied (the Elder). Again, when he had reached the place where the great shrine was (afterwards built), they brought him campaka [4] flowers, and these also the king gave to the Elder. When the Elder had bowed down honouring the place of the great shrine with the flowers, the earth immediately trembled. The king asked: 'Revered sir, why does the earth tremble?' 'At this place, Your majesty, there will come to be in the future the incomparable great tope of the Blessed Buddha; this is a presage of it,' replied (the Elder). 'I will build it, Revered sir.' 'No, Your majesty, you have much other business; but your grandson, named Duṭṭhagāmaṇi Abhaya, will have it built.' Then the king said: 'Revered sir! if my grandson will build it, it is built even by me.' He had a stone-pillar brought, twelve cubits in length, and having had these letters incised upon it: 'Let king Devānampiyatissa's grandson, named Duṭṭhagāmaṇi Abhaya, build a tope at this place', he set it up.

3. Then king Devānampiyatissa having had the relics deposited on the Cetiya mountain put in the bowl used by the Supreme Buddha and brought on the back of an elephant, had a tope built at the distance of every *yojana*

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[1] Cf. *Mahāvaṃsa*, XIX, v. 85.

[2] Cf. *Samantapāsādikā*, I, 101-102.

[3] Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, II, pp. 795-96; *Cūḷavaṃsa* (Geiger), I, pp. 3, 4, etc.

[4] *Michelia Champaka*—its white and yellow flowers are sweet-scented. *Jāt.*, V, 420; *Milinda*, 338.

through the entire island of Tambapaṇṇi, and he had the relics enshrined. He honoured the bowl of the Blessed One having had it installed even in the royal palace.

'Having enshrined the relics of the Supreme Buddha and even his alms bowl, the great king had topes built at a distance of every *yojana*.'

The Account of the Topes at the distance of every yojana.

CHAPTER IV

THE CONNECTIVE ACCOUNT SHOWING CLEARLY WHAT CAME TO PASS

1. Then the king did many other meritorious deeds also and reigned twenty-four years. After his death his younger brother, King Uttiya, reigned ten years. After his death his younger brother, Mahāsiva,[1] reigned likewise ten years. After his death his younger brother, Sūratissa, also reigned ten years. Then two Tamils,[2] sons of a sea-faring horse-dealer,[3] captured Sūratissa and reigned justly (both together) twenty-two years. King Mūṭasiva's [4] son, named Asela, captured them and reigned ten years. Then came a Damiḷa, named Eḷāra, from the Coḷa country who having captured king Asela, reigned forty-four years. Having captured Eḷāra, Duṭṭhagāmaṇi Abhaya [5] became king.

The Connective Account showing clearly what came to pass.

CHAPTER V

THE ACCOUNT OF THE MAHIYAṄGANA TOPE

1. It is said, King Devānampiyatissa's second brother,[6] the Vice-regent, was named Mahānāga. The king's consort coveted the kingship for her own son, and while the Vice-regent was making the tank called Taraccha, she sent him a mango fruit which she had poisoned and laid uppermost among (other) mango fruits. The queen's son who had gone (there) with the Vice-regent, took and ate the mango fruit when the dish was uncovered, and died. Knowing the cause of it the Vice-regent was afraid of the queen, and taking his own wife and army from there he went to Rohaṇa. On the

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[1] He was the son of Muṭasiva—*Mahāvaṃsa*, XXI, 1ff. (Geiger).

[2] They are named as Sena and Guttaka in *Mahāvaṃsa*, XXI, v. 10.

[3] Lit., 'horse-seafarer' (*assanāvikaputtā*), see Geiger, *Mahāvaṃsa Transln.*, p. 143 note. Geiger has used the word '*freighter*'.

[4] Cf. *Cūḷavaṃsa* (Geiger), I, 459.

[5] Cf. *ibid.*, p. 141.

[6] Cf. *Mhvs.*, XXII, 2ff.

way his chief queen gave birth to a son at the Yaṭṭala-vihāra.[1] He gave him his brother's name Tissa. He went thence and while living in Mahāgāma he reigned in Rohaṇa. After his death his son Yaṭṭala-Tissa reigned in the same Mahāgāma. After his death his son, named Goṭhābhaya, also reigned there. Goṭhābhaya's son, named Kākavaṇṇa-Tissa also reigned there. King Tissa of Kalyāṇī's daughter, named Vihāra-Mahādevī, was, it is said, the chief queen of King Kākavaṇṇa-Tissa. She was dear to and beloved by the king. The king lived in concord with her doing works of merit. Now, one day, when the queen had made a great gift to the Order of monks in the royal abode, in the evening, having had perfumes and garlands and the like taken, she went to the monastery to hear (the preaching of) the doctrine. There she found a virtuous recluse who was lying down very ill and on the point of death, and when she had honoured him with the perfumes and garlands and the like and had praised her own fortune, she asked him, 'Do you wish to become my son, Revered sir?' He did not want to, yet again and again she asked him. And the recluse thought: 'If this were so, I would be able to render help to the religion, and he consented. After he had appeared in the *deva* world, conditioned by his passing on he left it, he took reinstatement, according to his desire, in the queen's womb as she was going her way in a golden palanquin. At the expiry of ten months she gave birth to a son. They named him Gāmaṇi-Abhaya. Subsequently they gave him also another name (calling him) Tissa.

2. The prince Gāmaṇi grew up in due course and at the age of sixteen became an expert in elephant-training, in horse-training and in swordsmanship, and he was possessed of glory, strength and valour. Nandimitta, Suranimmala, Mahāsena, Goṭṭhayimbara, Theraputtābhaya, Bharaṇa, Veḷusumana, Khañjadeva, Phussadeva, Labhiyyavasabha—these ten great warriors King Kākavaṇṇatissa placed under his son and made him live (with them). The account of their origin should be learnt from the *Mahāvaṃsa*.[2]

3. On these ten great warriors did the king confer honours like the honours conferred on his son. He had prince Tissa stationed at Dīghavāpī[3] in order to guard the country.[4] Then one day, prince Gāmaṇi reviewing the strength of his army, had the king told: 'I will make war upon the Tamils.' The king, to protect his son, forbade him, saying: '(The region on) this side of the Ganges[5] is enough.' Three times he had this told him. Enraged at this the king said: 'Make a golden chain, (with that) I will bind and protect him.' Angered at his father the king Abhaya fled and went to

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[1] See Geiger, *Mhvs. Transln.*, p. 146, n. 3. *It is Yaṭagala-vihāra to the north-east of Point de Galle.*

[2] *Mahāvaṃsa*, Ch. XXIII.

[3] See Geiger, *Mhvs. Transln.*, p. 8, n. 1.

[4] Cf. *Mhvs.*, XXIV, 1ff.

[5] Gaṅgā or Mahāgaṅgā is the name of a river situated between the Tamil country and the region ruled over by the Mahāgāma dynasty, see Geiger, *Mahāvaṃsa Transln.*, p. 164, note 3.

Malaya.[1] Thereupon because he was angry (*duṭṭha*) with his father he was known as Duṭṭhagāmaṇi. The king made the (ten) warriors take an oath not to go to the battlefield of his sons.

4. When King Kākavaṇṇatissa had had sixty-four monasteries built and lived just sixty-four years, he died. When prince Tissa heard that his father had died, he came from Dīghavāpī, and when he had had the funeral rites performed for his father, he took his mother and the elephant Kaṇḍūla (with him) and for fear of his brother went back to Dīghavāpī. The ministers, who had gathered together, sent (a message) telling Duṭṭhagāmaṇi that matter. On hearing the message he repaired to Guttasāla,[2] and having sent messages to his brother he came from there to Mahāgāma and having had himself consecrated king, he said 'Let them send the mother and the elephant Kaṇḍūla'.

5. When he had sent a letter to his brother for the third time and had understood that they would not be sent, he set forth to make war (upon him). Being prepared for the war, the prince, too, set forth. Between the two brothers there took place a great battle at Cūḷaṅgaṇiyapiṭṭhi. Those warriors who had taken the oath, did not, it is said, become parties to their battle. At that time many thousands of the king's men died. The king being defeated, took his minister Tissa and the mare Dīghatūṇika and fled. The prince pursued them closely, (but) between (the two brothers) monks created a mountain. When the prince saw it, he turned back knowing that it was the work of the Order of monks. When the king in his flight came to the Jalamāla ford of the river Kappakandara, he said: 'I am hungry.' His minister took out food that was placed in a golden vessel, and offered it to him. The king observed the time and thought: 'After offering it to the Order I will eat.' When he had divided it into four portions—for the Order, for his minister, for the mare and for himself—he had the time announced. Then an Elder, named Kuṭumbiya Tissa came from Piyaṅgu island and stood before him. Delighted at heart at the sight of the Elder, the king placed in the Elder's bowl the portion set apart for the Order and his own portion. His minister, too, placed (in it) his own portion, and the mare also was willing to give (her portion). Knowing her intention the minister also put her portion into the bowl. Thus the king gave the Elder the bowl filled with food. The Elder took the bowl and going away offered it to the thera named Gotama. When he had served five hundred monks with food and had again filled the bowl with the portions received from them he threw it into the air; the bowl went off and stood before the king. Tissa received it, and when he had served the king with food and then himself had eaten from it he fed the mare. Then the king sent the bowl away, making of his field-cloak a cushion (to bear it). It went thence and stood firmly on the Elder's hand. Arriving again at Mahāgāma, the king assembled

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[1] The central mountain-region in the interior of Ceylon, Geiger, *Mhvs. Transln.*, p. 60, n. 4.

[2] See Geiger, *Mhvs. Transln.*, p. 165, n. 5.

his army and taking sixty thousand troops he again made war upon his brother. At that time many thousands of the prince's men fell; the prince fled and came to a monastery and entered the cell of the chief Elder. The king pursued him closely, but when he knew he had entered the monastery, he turned back. Afterwards the Elders made those two brothers beg pardon from each other. Then the king sent prince Tissa to Dīghavāpī to direct the work of harvest, and when he had made it known by the beat of drum, he himself also directed the work of harvest. When (the king) had assembled the multitude and had had a relic laid on his spear, attended by his troops he went to Tissārāma, and when he had bowed down before the Order, he said: 'Revered sirs, to bring glory to the doctrine I will go (to the land) on the further shore of the Ganges.[1] Give us monks who will go with us, so that we may treat it with honour.' The Order gave him five hundred monks. With this Order of monks the king, mounting on the elephant Kaṇḍula and surrounded by warriors, set out with a mighty host. When he had arrived at Mahiyaṅgana he fought with the Damiḷas[2] there and built the Kañcuka tope at Mahiyaṅgana. (This is) a connected account in order to make clear (the account) of that tope.

6. The Blessed One, it is said, in the ninth month after his Enlightenment, came to this island, and he came also to the gathering of *yakkhas*[3] on the bank of the Ganges, in the Mahānāga-garden, three *yojanas* long and one *yojana* wide, and there he standing in the air over the heads of those *yakkhas*, at the place of the (future) tope, Mahiyaṅgana, terrified the *yakkhas* with rain, storm, darkness and the like. When they had besought him (to release them) from their fear, he said: 'I will release you from fear, give me with one accord a place where I may sit down.' The *yakkhas* replied: 'O Lord! we give you the whole of this island; release us from fear.' Afterwards when the Blessed One had removed their fear and had spread his rug of skin on the ground that they had given him, and was sitting there, he

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[1] Name of a river in Ceylon.

[2] The Damiḷas commonly known as the Tamils were a powerful south Indian tribe. They were a warlike people. They had two settlements on both sides of the Ganges. They were disrespectful to the Buddhist topes. The island of Laṅkā was very much troubled by them. Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, a powerful king of Ceylon, fought with them, killed many of them and afterwards brought them under control. He decided to drive them out of the island of Laṅkā. He marched with a mighty army against them and inflicted a crushing defeat upon them. Another powerful king of Ceylon, Duṭṭhagāmaṇi Abhaya, after defeating 32 Damiḷa kings and having obtained coronation at Anurādhapur, did not sleep for a month on account of great delight. He fought with the Damiḷa king named Eḷāra and became victorious. He again defeated the Damiḷas at Mahiyaṅgana where he built the golden cetiya and worshipped it. He captured many Damiḷas, e.g. Catta, Mahākoṭṭha, Gavara, Bhanaka, Tāla, Gāmaṇi. A careful study of the Buddhist Texts shows that the Damiḷas were a fighting people always engaged in constant strifes with the Ceylonese. They are described as *anāriyā* or uncultured. 'Might is right' was their policy which they rigidly followed with the result that they were mercilessly massacred in almost all their battles with the Ceylonese. For further details, see B. C. Law, *Geographical Essays*, pp. 76–80.

[3] Cf. *Mhvs.*, I, 21ff.; the *yakkhas* were the supernatural beings.

attained to the *Kasiṇa* meditation on heat, he burnt the rug of skin on all sides and increased (the flames). Overwhelmed by the rug of skin, they crowded together all round the sea-shore. By his supernormal power the Blessed One brought Giridīpa [1] here, and when he had made the *yakkhas* enter there, he restored the island to its former place and folded his rug of skin. Then the *devatās* assembled and in that assembly the Blessed One preached (them) the doctrine, thus: 'The conversion [2] of many crores of living beings took place and countless were those who placed themselves in the refuges and the precepts. In the *Sumanakūṭa-mountain*,[3] the great Sumana, king of the *devas* who had attained to the fruition of a Stream-Winner, begged of him who should be honoured, something to honour. The Conqueror, the benefactor of living beings, passing (his hand) over his (own) head, gave him a handful of hairs from the pure blue-black hairs of his head. Taking these in lovely golden casket, he laid the hairs of the (Buddha's) head upon a heap of many-coloured jewels, seven cubits round, piled up at the place where the Master had sat, and covered them over with a tope of sapphire and worshipped them.'

7. When the Blessed One had passed away entirely, the Elder named Sarabhū, a pupil of the Elder Sāriputta, the captain of the doctrine, received from the funeral pile, the collar-bone relic and came in the company of the Order of monks and laid it in that same shrine and covered it with golden-coloured stones,[4] and when he had built the shrine twelve cubits high, he departed.

8. King Devānampiyatissa's brother named Cūḷābhaya saw the wonderful shrine and built the shrine thirty cubits high. King Duṭṭhagāmani Abhaya of the present time came to Mahiyaṅgana and subdued the *Damiḷas* there and built a mantle shrine, eighty cubits high (over it), and reverenced it.

'Thus do the virtuous accomplish even extraordinary deeds, and do the wise who shun the fear of existence, perform works of merit.'

The account of the Mahiyaṅgana Tope.

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[1] See Geiger, *Mhvs. translation*, p. 4, n. 4.

[2] These verses also occur in the *Mhvs.*, I, 32–36.

[3] According to Geiger, *Mhvs. Transln.*, p. 5, n. 1, it is the Adam's Peak.

[4] *Meghavaṇṇa-pāsāṇa*, see Geiger's note at *Mhvs.*, p. 355, where he puts it beyond doubt that *meda* is the correct reading in all such contexts; cf. *Suttanipāta*, 447: *Medavaṇṇaṃ va pāsāṇaṃ*.

CHAPTER VI

THE ACCOUNT OF THE MARICAVAṬṬI MONASTERY

1. Thereupon the king having fought with the Damiḷas there, and having captured [1] the Damiḷa Catta [2] and slain many Damiḷas in that place, came to Ambatittha and captured the Damiḷa Amba within four months. Marching thence, he captured seven mighty Damiḷas even in one day. Afterwards in Antarasobbha he captured the Damiḷa Mahākoṭṭha, in Doṇagāma the Damiḷa Gavara, in Hālakola the Damiḷa Mahissariya, in Nāḷisobbha the Damiḷa Nāḷika and in Dīghābhayagalla the Damiḷa Dīghābhaya; further in Kacchatittha, within four months, he captured the Damiḷa Kiñcisīsa. Afterwards in the town of Veṭha he captured the Damiḷa Tāḷa and the Damiḷa Bhāṇaka, in Vahiṭṭha the Damiḷa Vahiṭṭha, in Gāmaṇi the Damiḷa Gāmaṇi, in Kumbugāma the Damiḷa Kumbu, in Nandikagāma the Damiḷa Nandika, in Khāṇugāma the Damiḷa Khāṇu and in Tamba and Unnama the two Damiḷas, maternal uncle and nephew (respectively). At that time 'when the king heard: "Not knowing their own army, they slay their own people," he made there this solemn declaration: "This striving of mine is never for the joy of sovereignty; this (striving) of mine is even to establish the teaching of the supreme Buddha. By this truth may the armour on the body of my soldiers become of the colour of fire." And then it came to pass even thus.'

2. Thus the king struck the Damiḷas on the bank of the Ganges. All the soldiers who had been struck came thence and entered the city of Vijita. When the king saw Nandhimitta coming (towards him) in order to take the city of Vijita, he let loose Kaṇḍula (upon Nandhimitta) to put him to the test. And Kaṇḍula came forward to capture him. Then Nandhimitta seized with his hands its two tusks and forced it down making it sit in a squatting posture. When the king had put them both to the test, he marched to the city of Vijita. Thereupon at the south-gate a great battle took place between the warriors. At the east-gate did Veḷusumana, sitting on his horse, slay a large number of Damiḷas. The Damiḷas went inside and shut the gate. Thereupon the king sent (there) his warriors. The elephant Kaṇḍula and Nandhimitta and Suranimmala did their deeds at the south-gate while Mahāsoṇa and Goṭṭhayimbara and Theraputtābhaya—these three did their deeds at the three other gates.

3. And that city was surrounded by three moats and was provided with a strong wall, a gate-tower and a gate of iron. Kaṇḍula, placing itself on its knees, and battering stones, mortar and bricks (with its tusks), reached the gate of iron. Then the Damiḷas who stood upon the gate-tower hurled various weapons (at it). They also threw on the elephant's back balls of red-hot iron and molten pitch. Kaṇḍula, tormented with pains, then betook itself to a pool of water and dived into the water.

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[1] Cf. *Mahāvaṃsa*, XXV, v. 7.

[2] He is called *Chatta* in the *Mahāvaṃsa*, XXV, v. 7.

Then Goṭṭhayimbara said to (it): 'This is no intoxicating drink, go forth to destroy the iron gate, destroy the gate.' On hearing this, it, which was proud of its birth, came trumpeting out of the water and stood on dry land.

4. Then the elephants' physician washed the pitch away and put on balm. Thereupon the king mounted the elephant and, striking its frontal globe with his hand, cheered it on with the words: 'To you I give lordship over the whole land of Laṅkā.' And when he had fed it with choice fodder and had covered its sores with a bandage and had armoured it well and had bound as armour upon its back a seven times folded buffalo-hide and on it had fastened a hide steeped in oil, he sent it off. Roaring like thunder it went, and pierced the panels of the gate with its tusks and trampled the threshold with its feet; and with a great sound the gate of iron crashed to the ground together with the arches of the gate. Seeing the crumbling mass of the gate-tower falling upon the elephant's back Nandhimitta dashed aside, striking it with his arms. Then Kaṇḍula threw aside the anger and revenge it had felt when Nandhimitta seized it by the tusks. Thereupon Kaṇḍula looked at Nandhimitta in order that he might mount upon its back. He said: 'I will not enter (the city) by the way opened by you.' And when he with his arms had struck at the wall, eighteen cubits high, and had made a portion of the wall measuring eight *usabhas* long crash down, he looked at Suranimmala. He, too, would not (follow) the way opened by him but, leaping over the wall, alighted inside the city. And Goṭṭhayimbara and Soṇa and Theraputtābhaya, having each one broken down a gate, entered (the city). Thereupon—

'The elephant took a chariot-wheel, Mitta a waggon-frame, Goṭha a cocoanut-palm, Nimmala (Nimila) his splendid sword, Mahāsoṇa a palmyra-palm, Theraputta his great club, and rushing each by himself into the streets, they crushed the Damiḷas there.' [1]

When the king, in four months, had thus destroyed the city of Vijita and had killed the Damiḷas, he went thence to (a place) called Giriloka [2] and overpowered the Damiḷa Giriya. Thence he marched to the city of Mahela and in four months he subdued the king of Mahela. Thereupon the king, going to Anurādhapura, pitched his camp round the mountain called Kāsa, and when he had made a tank there, he held a water-festival at the beginning of the month of Jeṭṭha. Hearing that Duṭṭhagāmaṇi was come, Eḷāra, too, took counsel with his ministers and resolved: 'Tomorrow will we fight.' Next day when he, being armoured, had mounted his elephant Mahāpabbata, he set forth surrounded by a large number of troops. Gāmaṇi also took counsel with his mother, and when he had formed thirty-two divisions of troops and had placed here and there parasol-bearers and figures of the king, he himself stood in the innermost division (of troops).

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[1] Cf. *Mahāvaṃsa*, XXV, vv. 45–56—*visuṃ visuṃ vīthigatā Damiḷe tattha cuṇṇayuṃ*.

[2] *Giriloka* at *Mhvs.*, XXV, 47—*Girilokaṃ gantvā Giriyaṃ Damiḷaṃ haṇi.*

Afterwards when the war ensued, king Eḷāra's great warrior, named Dīghajattu, took his sword and shield and leaping from the ground eighteen cubits into the air and splitting a figure of the king, destroyed the first division of troops.

5. When he had thus also destroyed the other divisions of troops, he came across the division of troops which stood with Gāmaṇi the great (in it). Then Suranimmala saw that the king was attacked and proclaiming his own name, he insulted him. On hearing this, Dīghajattu thought: 'I will kill him first' and leaped into the air full of rage. Suranimmala saw him alighting on his own person and held his own shield (towards him). And while the latter thinking 'I will destroy him together with the shield', hurled the shield; the former evaded it. Dīghajattu, destroying the shield, fell on the ground. Suranimmala struck him with his sword. At that moment Phussadeva blew his conchshell, and it was like the roaring of thunder. The people were as though mad. Thereupon the army of the Damiḷas was scattered, and Eḷāra fled. Even then did they slay many Damiḷas.

'There the water in the tank was coloured red with the blood of the slain, therefore it was known by the name Kulatthavāpī.[1] King Duṭṭhagāmaṇi proclaimed by beat of drum: "None but myself shall slay Eḷāra." When he himself was armed and had mounted the armed elephant Kaṇḍula, he pursued Eḷāra and came to the south-gate. In the south region of the city both the kings fought; Eḷāra hurled his dart, Gāmaṇi evaded it. He made his own elephant pierce (Eḷāra's) elephant with its tusks; he hurled his dart at Eḷāra, and this fell there, with his elephant. When he had thus been victorious in battle and had united Laṅkā under one rule, he entered the (capital) town with his waggons, troops, and beasts of burden.'[2]

6. Then the king had the drum beaten in the city and when he had assembled the people from a *yojana* around and had shown great reverence to the body of king Eḷāra and had conducted it to a building with a peaked roof, he burnt it, and having had a shrine made he bestowed honour (upon it). And even to this day the kings (of Laṅkā) when they draw near to this place, do not have their drums sounded. When the great king Duṭṭhagāmaṇi Abhaya had thus killed thirty-two Damiḷa kings, he brought the island of Laṅkā under one rule. When Duṭṭhagāmaṇi had captured the city of Vijita, the warrior Dīghajattu having approached Eḷāra told him of the valour of his nephew, Bhalluka, and to him he sent a message to come hither. And on the seventh day after the day of the cremation of Eḷāra, Bhalluka landed with his sixty thousand men, and although he heard of the king's death, yet, from shame, he declared: 'I will fight', and going forth from Mahātittha he pitched his camp in a village called Kolambahālaka.

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[1] Geiger (*Mhvs. Transln.*, 175, n. 1) would like to adopt the reading of the Burmese MSS. Kulantavāpī, the tank of the 'End of the tribe'. *Tattha vāpijalaṃāsi hatānaṃ lohitāvilaṃ tasmā kulatthavāpītināmato vissutā ahu.*

[2] Cf. *Mahāvaṃsa*, XXV, vv. 66–71.

When the king heard of his arrival, did he in full armour, mount (the elephant) Kaṇḍula and surrounded by warriors he marched forth with great numbers of troops. And Phussadeva, armed with five kinds of weapons,[1] was seated behind the king. And when Bhalluka, armed with five kinds of weapons, had mounted on his elephant, he came towards the king. Then Kaṇḍula, to lessen its speed, retreated quite slowly; the army, too, retreated in like manner with the elephant. The king said to Phussadeva: 'In twenty-eight previous battles, this elephant has never retreated, but why does it now retreat?' He answered: 'Sire, victory is ours; seeing the place of victory it retreats, on getting to the place of victory it will halt.' And when the heroic elephant had retreated, it stood beside (the shrine of) the guardian *deva* of the city, within the precincts of the Great Monastery. Thereupon Bhalluka came towards the king and mocked at the king. Covering his mouth with his sword-blade the king also insulted him. 'I will pierce through the king's mouth', thought the other, and let fly an arrow. It struck the sword-blade and fell to the ground. Bhalluka thought: 'I have struck him in his mouth', and uttered a shout of joy. Then Phussadeva, who had been seated behind the king, touching the king's ear-ring, let fly an arrow into his mouth. With another arrow he pierced the knee of the man who had fallen with his feet towards the king and made him fall with his head towards the king. When the king after winning the victory had come to the city and had sent for the arrow and had it placed upright with its feathered end uppermost, he made a heap of *kahāpaṇas*,[2] as high as the arrow, and gave it to Phussadeva.

7. When the king had thus brought the kingdom of Laṅkā under one rule, he distributed the distant places to his warriors according to their rank. Theraputtābhaya would not, however, have the distant place which was alloted to him. Being asked: 'Why do you not accept it?' he answered: 'There is (yet) battle, Your majesty.' (Again) being asked: 'Now a single realm has been formed what battle is there?' he answered: 'I will fight with the rebels of afflictions.' Again and again the king refused him. But after entreating repeatedly, he renounced the world with the king's consent, and when he striving for insight, had attained to arahantship, he lived in the midst of five hundred cankerwaned. Then the king, sitting on the royal couch on the terrace of his own palace, as he looked back upon his glorious victory, remembered the destruction of a complete (great) army. As the king remembered it, he became greatly dejected and thought: 'This may be a hindrance in my way to heaven.' At that time the arahants in Piyaṅgudīpa, knowing the king's thought, sent eight arahants to comfort him. They came, and when they had made their arrival known, they ascended to the terrace of the palace. When the king had bowed down before

[1] See Geiger, *Mhvs. Transln.* 56, n. 2—sword, bow, battle-axe, spear and shield.

[2] It denotes a coin of silver as well as of copper but not of gold. It is used in a general sense for a coin or money piece. For details, see C. D. Chatterjee, *Some numismatic data in Pali Literature* (B. C. Law, *Buddhistic Studies*), Ch. XV; *PTS.* Dictionary, p. 30.

the Elders and had made them sit down on a seat, he enquired the purpose of their visit. And when the Elders had told the king the purpose of their visit, and made him aware that through that deed of his there was no hindrance in his way to heaven and deliverance, they departed. The king heard them and took comfort, and when he had bowed down before them and given them leave to depart, he lay down on the royal couch and again thought: 'My parents made me vow thus: "Without (giving to) the Order you should never take your meal." Have I ever eaten anything whatsoever without giving to the Order of monks, or not?' As he thought thus, he saw that he had, through forgetfulness, eaten a single pepper pod, at the morning meal, giving none to the Order. Seeing this he thought: 'I have done wrong, (for this) I must do an act of expiation.'[1] When the week of the festival of kingship was over, the king with high royal dignity and with great festive performance, came to the Tissa-tank to celebrate the water-festival and to observe the tradition of crowned kings.[2] All this was arranged for the king, and hundreds of offerings did (the people) place at the place where the Maricavaṭṭi monastery (afterwards stood).

8. And there at the place where the tope was (afterwards built) the king's men placed the king's spear upright together with the relic. When the king, surrounded by the women of the harem, had disported himself during the day-time, he said in the evening: 'We will return to the city; lift up the spear.' The king's men on taking up the spear were unable to move it. When the king's soldiers saw this wonder, they came together and honoured it with perfumes and garlands and so forth. When the king also saw this great wonder, he, glad at heart, provided (it with) protection on all sides and entered the city. Afterwards the king built a shrine enclosing the spear, and a monastery encircling that. In three years the monastery was completed. The king assembled the Order to hold a festival in honour of the monastery. A hundred thousand monks and ninety thousand nuns gathered together. In that assembly the king bowed down before the Order and spoke thus: 'Revered sirs, through forgetfulness I ate a pepper pod without (giving to) the Order. Thinking: For that reason let me do an act of expiation, I have built the Maricavaṭṭi (Pepper Pod) monastery[3] together with a shrine. Revered sirs! may the Order accept the monastery together with the shrine.' When he, pouring down water by way of making the gift, had given the monastery to the Order, he built round about the monastery a great sitting-hall for the Order of monks. The pillars of the hall were set in the water of the Abhaya-tank, not to speak of the remaining space. When he had made the Order of monks sit down there and for seven days had made a great gift, he offered them the whole (set of) requisites. The requisites obtained there by the (senior) Elder of the Order[4] were valued at a hundred thousand *kahāpaṇas*. Thus—

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[1] Cf. *Mhvs.*, XXV, 7–115.
[2] Cf. *Mhvs.*, XXVI, 6–8.
[3] *Cūḷavaṃsa* (Geiger), I, pp. 68, 139, etc.
[4] Saṅgha-thera. Cf. *Vinaya*, II, 212, 303.

'The money that was spent here in gratitude by the wise king, who was a hero in battle as in giving, whose pure heart was filled with faith in the Three Jewels, who longed to raise the teaching to glory, to honour the Three Jewels, beginning with the building of the tope and ending in the festival of the monastery, is estimated leaving aside the rest of the priceless (gifts) at nineteen crores.' [1]

Thus the wise overcoming attachment should give away treasures which are transitory and worthless, and doing works of merit for the attainment of bliss, should always strive to seize the essential.

The Account of the Maricavaṭṭi monastery.

CHAPTER VII

THE ACCOUNT OF OBTAINING MATERIALS FOR THE TOPE

1. Thereupon the king thought: [2] 'The great Elder Mahinda, it is said spoke thus to king Devānampiyatissa, my ancestor: "Thy descendant Duṭṭhagāmaṇi Abhaya, Your majesty, will build a tope having golden garlands, a hundred and twenty cubits high, and the Brazen Palace (*lohapāsāda*) with nine stories, containing an observance hall for the Order." ' When he had thought thus and was looking round, he found a gold plate kept in a chest in the royal abode with an inscription upon it which he commanded to be read aloud: 'In the future, after the lapse of a hundred and forty years, Kākavaṇṇatissa's son, Duṭṭhagāmaṇi Abhaya, will have this and that done.' When he heard this, he became delighted and elated with joy and clapped his hands with the thought: 'By the master Mahinda the Great I was seen indeed, so they say.'

2. Then early in the morning he went to the Mahāmegha-grove, and when he had assembled the Order of monks, he spoke thus: 'Revered sirs, having built an observance hall for the Order of monks, I will build a palace similar to a celestial mansion. Send to the *deva*-world and have a drawing of a mansion made upon a linen cloth and give it to me.' The Order sent there eight (*bhikkhus*) who were cankerwaned. When they had gone to the abode of the Thirty-three (*devas*), they saw a jewelled palace, twelve *yojanas* high and forty-eight *yojanas* in circumference, which was adorned with a thousand pinnacles, was nine-storied, and provided with a thousand chambers, and which had come into being through the power of merit of the *deva* Bīraṇa's daughter, and which floated in the air. They made a drawing of it with vermilion upon a linen cloth, and when they brought it back they gave it to the Order of monks. The Order sent it to the king When the king saw it, he was glad at heart, and had the Brazen Palace built in the style of the drawing. At the time of beginning the work, however, he

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[1] Cf. *Mahāvaṃsa*, XXVI, vv. 23–25—*ūnavīsatikoṭiyo*.

[2] Cf. *Mhvs.*, XXVII.

had eight hundred thousand gold pieces placed at each of the four gates. Then at each of the four gates he had a thousand bundles of garments placed and also many thousand jars filled with molasses, oil, sugar and honey. Saying: 'No unpaid work is to be done in the palace', having had the drum beaten and having had the work estimated which had already been done unpaid, he had the workers paid. The palace on each side was a hundred cubits long, and even so much in height. It had also nine stories, and for each storey there were a hundred pinnacles, and all of these were overlaid with silver and surrounded with rows of golden tinkling bells. The pinnacles were adorned with various precious stones, and the coral cornices as well as their lotuses were variegated with different jewels. Likewise its thousand chambers were overlaid with different jewels and adorned with windows. Since he heard of Vessavana's chariot which served as a vehicle for the women, he had a jewelled-pavilion built in the middle (of the palace) fashioned in like manner. It was adorned with various jewelled-pillars on which were figures of lions, tigers, and so forth, as well as figures of *devatās*, and it was surrounded by a hanging network of pearls on all sides. Its coral cornices were also of the kind as described above. In the middle of the pavilion, adorned with the seven kinds of jewels, there was a throne of ivory on a base of mountain-crystal. And the head-rest was also made of ivory. It was adorned with the disc of the sun in gold, the disc of the moon in silver and stars in pearls and the lotus-flowers made of various jewels were fitly placed here and there and he had Jātaka scenes made (for) generating faith and in between them there were creeper-works in gold. Having spread out a costly covering there, he placed a beautiful fan of ivory and had the foot made of coral. Similarly he had made over the throne a white parasol, resting on a base of mountain-crystal and having a silver handle. On it, he caused to be depicted eight auspicious (signs)[1] made of the seven kinds of jewels with rows of figures of beasts, made of jewels and pearls in between them and rows of jewelled bells were hung upon the edge of the parasol. The palace, parasol, throne and pavilion—the four were beyond price. Having provided costly beds and chairs, he had costly woollen blankets and coverlets spread out thereon. The rinsing-vessel and the ladle were also of gold. So what need to speak of the other materials and utensils? The gateway was also surrounded by a beautiful enclosure. Since the palace was covered over with bricks of copper and iron it was known as the Brazen Palace (*lohapāsāda*). When he had thus prepared the palace to resemble the hall of the *devas* in the abode of the Thirty-three, he had the Order assembled. The Order gathered together as at the festival of the Maricavaṭṭi monastery.

On the first storey stood the ordinary people, on the second storey those who were versed in the three Piṭakas, and on each of the three upper stories beginning with the third, the Stream-Winners, the Once-Returners and the

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[1] See Geiger, *Mhvs. Transln.*, 185, n. 2—*aṭṭha maṅgalikāni*: lion, bull, elephant, water-pitcher, fan, standard, conch-shell, and lamp.

Non-Returners respectively, but the cankerwaned alone stood on the four uppermost stories. When he had thus the Order assembled and had poured down the (ceremonial) water, he bestowed the palace on the Order and made as at the festival of the Maricavaṭṭi monastery, a great gift for a week.

'That which was spent by the king for the sake of the palace, leaving aside the fourfold great gift of those things which were beyond price, is reckoned at thirty crores.[1] Giving away the accumulation of treasures that would be abandoned at the end of one's faring, the wise thus made the gift which is a treasure that follows (the giver).'

3. Now one day when the king,[2] after spending a hundred thousand (pieces of money) and honouring the great Bodhi-tree, was entering the city, he saw a stone-pillar raised upon the place where the tope was (afterwards built), and remembering the words spoken by the Elder Mahinda, he resolved 'I will build a great tope' and when he had entered the city and ascended the high terrace (of his palace), and had eaten good food and laid down on his royal couch, he thought thus: 'At the time of my conquering the Damiḷas, the people were very much oppressed. How shall I, without oppressing the people, and yet righteously and justly, be able to have the bricks fitly made for the great shrine?' As he thus reflected, the *devatā* residing on the parasol came to know it, and she loudly declared: 'The king thus thought.' There arose a tumult in the successive *deva*-worlds. When Sakka the king of the *devas* heard this he sent the *deva* Vissakamma addressing him thus: 'Dear Vissakamma, the great king Duṭṭhagāmaṇi Abhaya has been thinking about the bricks for the great shrine. Go and prepare the bricks at a distance of a *yojana* from the north side of the city on the bank of the Gambhīrā river, and come back.' Knowing this, the god Vissakamma came, and when in that very place he had prepared the bricks befitting the great shrine, he went away to the *deva* town.

4. Next day, a huntsman with his dogs went into the jungle, and as he walked about hither and thither he came to that place, but left it without even noticing the bricks. At that moment a terrestrial *devatā* appeared in the form of a great iguana before the huntsman and his dogs in order to show him the bricks, and being pursued by them she went towards the bricks and vanished. When the huntsman saw the bricks, he thought: 'Our king intends to build a tope, I have obtained, indeed, an aid towards it.' Glad at heart, he came next day very early in the morning and reported to the king the aid towards bricks seen by himself. When the king heard that message he, pleased at heart, bestowed great honour on him and appointed him forthwith as watchman of bricks. Thereupon the king said: 'I shall also go to see the bricks, take up the spear.' At that very moment (his people) brought him again another message: In a north-easterly direction from the city, at a distance of three *yojanas*, in Ācāraviṭṭhi village, in a

[1] Cf. *Mahāvaṃsa*, XXVII, v. 47—*Pāsādahetu cattāri mahācāgena rājinā anagghāni ṭhapetvāna ahesuṃ tiṃsakoṭiyo.*

[2] Cf. *Mhvs.*, XXVIII.

district measuring sixteen *karīsas*,[1] after it had rained for three watches of the night, there appeared nuggets of gold. In size, the greatest of them measured a span, the least was the measure of eight fingers. Now at daybreak the villagers saw the nuggets of gold and thought: 'Here has been produced a treasure indeed worthy of the king.' When they had provided protection on all sides and had put (some of) the nuggets of gold into a vessel, they came and showed them to the king. To them also did the king have due honour shown and he appointed them forthwith as watchmen of gold.

Now at that very moment (his people) brought him another message: On the east side of the city, at a distance of seven *yojanas* on the other shore of the Ganges, in the country named Tambapiṭṭhi, there appeared copper and iron. When the villagers had put (some of) the copper and iron into a vessel, they came with it and showed it to the king. To them also did the king have due honour shown and he appointed them forthwith watchmen (of the same).

Thereafter (his people) brought him another message: In a south-easterly direction from the city, at a distance of four *yojanas*, in Sumanavāpī village, there appeared many gems, mixed with sapphires and rubies. When the villagers had put (some of them) into a vessel, they came and showed the gems to the king. To them also did the king have due honour shown and he appointed them forthwith watchmen (of the same).

Thereafter (his people) brought him yet another message: In a southerly direction from the city, at a distance of eight *yojanas* in a place in the Ambatthakola country, there appeared silver. At that time a merchant who lived in the city had set out for Malaya with many carts in order to bring turmeric, ginger and so forth. Not far from a cave he unharnessed the carts, and as he was looking about for wood for whips he climbed that mountain and saw a branch of a bread-fruit tree. It had one single fruit as big as a large water-pitcher which, dragging down a young branch (by its weight), rested on a stone-slab below. When he saw it dragged down by the weight of the fruit, he went up to it, and when he had touched it with his hand and knew it to be ripe, he cut away its stalk. The branch of the bread-fruit tree rose up and rested at its proper place. Thinking: 'I will give away the best (part of it as gift) and then eat,' the merchant announced the (meal) time. Then four cankerwaned came and appeared before him. When the merchant saw them he was pleased at heart, and when he had bowed down at their feet and invited them to be seated he cut away the rind around the stalk of the fruit with his knife and pulled out and removed the base (of the fruit); the juice ran down from all sides and filled the hollow (which was made) by the removal of the base (of the fruit). When the merchant had poured the juice of the bread-fruit, which had the colour of water from (lake) Manosilā, into the bowls, he offered it to them. Those

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[1] A square measure of land, being that space on which a karīsa of seed can be sown—Rhys Davids, *Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon*, p. 18.

cankerwaned went up into the air in his very presence and departed. He again announced the (meal) time. Four other cankerwaned came, and when he had taken the alms-bowls from their hands, he filled them with the gold-coloured kernels of the bread-fruit and offered them to them. Among them, three Elders departed through the air, but one cankerwaned Elder, named Indagutta, who wished to show him the silver, came down from the mountain-top, and when he had sat down near that cave, he ate the kernel of the bread-fruit. After the Elder had departed, the lay devotee himself also ate the kernels that were left, and when he had put the rest in a bundle, he, while going with it, saw the Elder and offered him water and a branch for cleansing the alms-bowl. And the Elder who had made a path for carts to go near the opening of the cave, said: 'Go you on this path, lay devotee.' When he had bowed down before the Elder and while going that way, he reached the opening of the cave, and as he was looking round the cave he saw the mass of silver. When he had taken a lump of silver and had cut it with his knife and knew it to be silver, he instantly took a great lump and went back to his carts. After he had halted his carts at a place where there were grass and water, he went in haste to Anurādhapura and reported this matter to the king, showing him (the silver). To him also did the king have due honour shown.

Thereafter (his people) brought him yet another message: In a westerly direction from the city, at a distance of five *yojanas*, at a place in the Uruvelā mountain, pearls mixed with coral, in size like great myrobalan fruits and to the measure of sixty cart-loads, came forth from the sea to the dry land. Fishermen saw them and thought: 'Here comes a treasure worthy indeed of the king.' When they had piled them together in a heap and had provided them with protection and had put (some of) them into a vessel, they came and reported this matter to the king, showing him (the pearls together with coral). To them also did the king have due honour shown.

Again (his people) brought him another message: In a north-westerly direction from the city, at a distance of seven *yojanas*, at a place in Peḷivāpī village at the entrance to a cave near the sandy bank of a pond, four splendid gems appeared, in size like a small mill-stone and a span and four fingers in length, and the colour of flax-flowers. Now a hunter named Matta, while wandering about there with his dogs, came to that place and saw them. Thinking: 'This is a treasure indeed worthy of the king', when he had covered them over with sand, he came and reported (the matter) to the king. To him also did the king have due honour shown. Thus the king heard, on one and the same day, that the bricks and the like (treasures) had appeared for the tope. The places where the bricks and silver appeared took their names accordingly.

The account of obtaining materials for the Tope.

CHAPTER VIII

THE ACCOUNT OF THE BEGINNING OF THE TOPE

1. When the king [1] had had the gold and the rest brought together, that had appeared for the tope, he had them piled up in store-houses. Thereupon (the gathering of) all materials being completed, he began to prepare the ground for the great tope on the observance day of the full-moon of the month of Vesākha, when the Vesākha-constellation had occurred. When the king had had stones for the tope brought and installed at the place for the tope and in order to make it firm had the ground dug to the measure of a hundred *ratanas* [2] bounded by an 'elephant wall' [3] on all sides, he had the dust removed. And when he had had round stones spread out by his warriors he had them struck with hammers, and broken into pieces. Afterwards he had (the pieces of stone) stamped down by great elephants, their feet encased in hides, and he had butter-clay spread over the floor of pounded stones. At the place where the heavenly Ganges flows down (upon the earth), water-drops having risen, fall down on a space thirty *yojanas* around. The place where rice grows spontaneously is known as the place of the moist surface because of its continual moistness; there the clay, because of its fineness, is called butter-clay. And the cankerwaned recluses brought it from that place. It should be understood that everywhere the work of clay was done with it. (The king) had bricks spread over the clay, over the bricks a rough cement, over that cinnabar stones, over that a network of iron, over that sweet-scented sand that was brought by the cankerwaned recluses from the Himavant, over that mountain fluid, and over that mountain crystal. And over that he had stones spread. Throughout the work all the clay was butter-clay. Using the resin of the wood-apple tree dissolved in sweetened water, he had a sheet of copper and bronze eight fingers thick, spread over the stones. And over this, with arsenic dissolved in sesamum-oil, he had a sheet of silver spread seven fingers thick. When the king had thus had the ground prepared in all respects and had had the Order of monks assembled on the fourteenth day of the bright half of the month of Āsāḷha, he spoke thus: 'Tomorrow on the full moon observance day of the Uttarāsāḷha-constellation I will lay the foundation stone of the great shrine. Let the whole Order assemble tomorrow at the place where the tope will be built.' In the city he announced by beat of drum: 'Let the people observing the observance day with perfumes, garlands and the like, assemble at the place where the tope (will be built).'

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[1] Cf. *Mhvs.*, XXIX.

[2] A kind of linear measurement = 12 *aṅgulas*, or 7 *ratanas* = 1 *yaṭṭhi*. As Buddhaghosa explains: *dve vidatthiyo ratanaṃ; satta ratanāni yaṭṭhi—Vibhaṅga-aṭṭhakathā*, 343.

[3] *Hatthipākāra.* See Geiger, *Mhvs. Transln.*, 228, n. 2 (on XXXIII, 5); also A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Indian Architectural Terms*, *JAOS.*, Vol. 48, No. 3, p. 268. It is the basement work of a platform (of a *stūpa*) supported by elephants, their foreparts projecting in relief.

2. Thereupon he commanded two ministers, named Visākha and Siridova: 'Go, both of you, and adorn the place of the great shrine.' When they had gone there they had sand of the colour of a sheet of silver scattered on all sides, and flowers strewn with *lāja* as the fifth and a gateway with plantain trees raised, and filled vessels set up, and a five-coloured banner fastened to a gem-coloured bamboo, and various kinds of sweet-scented flowers spread, and in manifold ways they adorned the place. Then the king had the whole city adorned and the road leading to the monastery. On the following morning he placed at the four gates of the city barbers for beard-dressing, bath-attendants for the bath and servants for beautifying clothes with different colours and perfumes, garlands and so forth and also sweet food prepared with soups and curries, and through his superintendents he made it known: 'Let all citizens and countrymen take, according to their wish, their beard-dressing, bath, food and beautifying clothes, ornaments and so forth, and go to the place of the great shrine.' Being himself adorned with all kinds of ornaments, observing the observance day with forty thousand men, being guarded by many beautifully adorned and graceful ministers, attended by dancing girls like celestial nymphs, and delighting the people with (the sight of) his own royal dignity as does the king of the *devas* surrounded by a host of immortals, he went in the evening, while many musical instruments were sounded (around him), to the place of the great tope. More than a thousand and eight (waggon-loads of) clothes rolled in bundles did the king arrange and on the four sides he had a heap of clothes made and he had oil, honey, sugar, clarified butter and so forth arranged at the place of the great shrine for the festival. Then many monks came from various quarters. With eighty thousand monks from the neighbourhood of Rājagaha came the Elder Indagutta by air. Likewise from the great monastery at Isipatana in Benares came the Elder Dhammasena with twelve thousand monks; from the Jetavana-monastery at Sāvatthī[1] came the Elder named Piyadassin, with sixty thousand monks; from the great grove (monastery) at Vesālī[2] the Elder Buddharakkhita with eighteen thousand monks; from Ghosita's monastery at Kosambī[3] the Elder Dhammarakkhita the great with thirty thousand monks; from the great monastery at Dakkhiṇagiri in Ujjenī the Elder Dhammarakkhita with forty thousand monks; from the Asokārāma in Pāṭaliputta the Elder Mittiṇṇa with a hundred and sixty thousand monks; from the Gandhāra country[4] the Elder named Attinna with two hundred and eighty thousand monks; from the great Pallavabhoga (the country of the Pallavas) the Elder Mahādeva with four hundred and sixty thousand monks; from the city of Alasanda in the

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[1] B. C. Law, *Srāvastī in Indian Literature* (*MASI.*, No. 50, pp. 22ff.).

[2] B. C. Law, *Some Kṣatriya Tribes of Ancient India*, pp. 46ff.; B. C. Law, *India as described in Early Texts of Buddhism and Jainism*, pp. 31, 53, 54, 126, etc.

[3] B. C. Law, *Kauśāmbī in Ancient Literature*, p. 5 (*MASI.*, No. 60); *Ancient Mid-Indian Kṣatriya Tribes*, pp. 125ff.

[4] B. C. Law, *Tribes in Ancient India*, Ch. II.

Yonaka country the Elder Dhammarakkhita the Yona,[1] with thirty thousand monks; from his dwelling by the road through the Viñjha-forest the Elder Uttara with eighty thousand monks; from the great Bodhimaṇḍa-monastery the Elder Cittagutta with thirty thousand monks; from Vanavāsibhoga the Elder Candagutta with eighty thousand monks; from the Kelāsa monastery the Elder Suriyagutta came by air bringing with him ninety-six thousand monks.

'And as for the number of the monks dwelling in the island who came from every side, no exact limit has been spoken of by the ancients. Among all these monks who came together in that assembly the cankerwaned alone, it is said, were ninety-six crores.'[2]

3. Then the Order, like an encircling coral railing,[3] stood according to their rank (around the place of the great tope), leaving at the centre an open space for the king. On the east side stood the cankerwaned Elder named Buddharakkhita with the five hundred cankerwaned bearing his own name. Likewise on the south, west and north sides stood the cankerwaned Elders named Dhammarakkhita, Saṃgharakkhita and Ānanda respectively, each with the five hundred cankerwaned bearing their own names. The cankerwaned Elder named Piyadassin stood in the north-easterly direction with the great Order of monks. Even as the king, it is said, stepped into the midst of the Order he thought: 'If the work on the shrine that is being carried out by me is to come to completion without hindrance, then may the Elders named Buddharakkhita, Dhammarakkhita, Saṃgharakkhita and Ānanda stand on the east, south, west and north sides respectively, each taking with him five hundred monks bearing his own name; may the Elder named Piyadassin take his place in the north-easterly direction with the Order of monks.' The Elders, also knowing the king's wish, stood accordingly, they say.

4. But the Elder Siddhattha, surrounded by these eleven Elders, namely, Maṅgala, Sumana, Paduma, Sīvalī, Candagutta, Suriyagutta, Indagutta, Sāgara, Cittasena, Jayasena and Acala, stood with his face towards the east, placing before him filled vessels. When the king saw the Order of monks standing thus, he, with a believing heart, honoured them with perfumes, garlands and so forth, and when he had gone round them keeping them to his right side and had bowed down at four points and had entered the place where the filled vessels were, he made a minister who was of good birth on the side of both his living parents, and who was well adorned and arrayed with ornaments that were considered very auspicious, grasp a turning staff of silver tied to a post of gold and he began to have a great circumference made for the shrine. But the Elder Siddhattha prevented him as he did this. To him this occurred: 'If the great king builds

[1] Yona = Yavana. For a history of the Yonas, see B. C. Law, *Tribes in Ancient India*, 1943, pp. 153 foll. (Ch. XXXI).

[2] Cf. *Mahāvaṃsa*, XXIX, vv. 44-5—*vuttā khīṇāsavā yeva te channavutikoṭiya.*

[3] On *vedikā*, see A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Indian Architectural Terms, JAOS.*, Vol. 48, No. 3, p. 273.

a great shrine, he will die before it is finished, and it will be difficult to keep it in repair.' At that moment the Order of monks said: 'Your majesty, an Elder should do the bidding of the wise Elder.' Knowing the intention of the Order of monks, the king thought: 'It will be done by the Elder' and he enquired 'Revered sir, of what dimension am I to make it?' The Elder replied: 'Make the circumference of the shrine from wherever I shall go,' and encircling (the place thus) having pointed it out, he went away. Acting on the Elder's instruction, the king had the circumference of the shrine made and when he had come up to the Elder and had asked his name and had honoured him with perfumes, garlands and so forth and had bowed down before him, he approached the remaining eleven Elders who were standing (there). When he had honoured them and had bowed down before them and had asked their names, he asked the name of the minister who had grasped the turning staff. Being told: 'Sire, my name is Suppatiṭṭhita Brahmā', he enquired: 'What is your father's name?' Being told: 'His name is Nandisena', he asked his mother's name. When he was told: 'Her name is Sumanādevī', he was glad and thought: 'The names of all of them are believed to be very auspicious; the work on the shrine that is being done by me will surely reach its completion.' Thereupon the king had eight vessels of gold and (eight) vessels of silver placed at the centre, and he had a thousand and eight full vessels placed over them covering them.

5. Then did he have eight golden bricks set up and covering each of these he had a hundred and eight silver bricks and a hundred and eight garments arranged. When he had then made the minister named Suppatiṭṭhita Brahmā take hold of one brick of gold, he had the remaining seven bricks taken hold of by seven ministers of the same name whose parents were alive. At that moment the Elder Mitta placed sweet-scented clay on the ground, on the east side, which had been marked by the turning staff. When Elder Jayasena had poured the (ceremonial) water on it and had carefully led it away, he levelled it. Suppatiṭṭhita Brahmā laid the first foundation brick during the constellation of Bhadda at the place prepared with various ceremonies. The Elder Sumana honoured it with jasmine flowers. At that moment making a boundary of the waters, the great earth quaked.

6. In this way, the remaining seven bricks were also laid. Afterwards when the king had also had the silver bricks laid and had honoured them with perfumes, garlands and so forth and had had an auspicious ceremony performed and had had flowers taken in golden baskets, he approached the Elder Buddharakkhita the great who was standing before the Order of monks at the east side. When he had honoured him with perfumes, garlands and so forth and had bowed down before him, he asked the names of the monks who were standing encircling the Elder. Thereafter he approached the Elder Dhammarakkhita the great who was standing at the south side, the Elder Saṃgharakkhita the great who was standing at the west side, and the Elder Ānanda who was standing at the north side. And when he had honoured them with perfumes, garlands and so forth and had

bowed down before them with the fivefold prostration,[1] he asked their names, as before. When he had gone to the north-easterly direction and had bowed down and honoured the great Elder Piyadassin who was standing there, having asked his name, he stood near him. Exalting the ceremony, the Elder preached the doctrine to the king. At the end of the ceremony, forty thousand of the company of lay people present were established in arahantship, forty thousand in the fruition of Stream-Winners, a thousand in the fruition of Once-Returners, and a thousand in the fruition of Non-Returners. On the other hand, eighteen thousand monks and fourteen thousand nuns attained to arahantship.

The account of the beginning of the Tope.

CHAPTER IX

THE ACCOUNT OF THE DESCRIPTION OF THE RELIC CHAMBER

1. Thereupon the king[2] bowed down before the Order of monks and said: 'Let the Order of monks accept alms from me until the great shrine is finished.' The monks did not consent. Asking them by degrees and having obtained the assent of half the monks for a week, when pavilions were set up in eighteen places around the place of the tope, he made the Order of monks sit down there and gave a great gift for seven days, and bestowed on all of them medicaments of oil, honey, sugar and so forth, and let the Order of monks depart. Thereupon he had the drum beaten in the city and had all the brick masons gathered together. There were at least five hundred of them. One of them saw the king and thought: 'I shall be able to build the great shrine after convincing the king.' The king asked: 'How will you build (it)?' He answered: 'With a hundred workmen, sire, I shall do the work throwing down one cart-load of sand in one day.' Thinking 'If this be so, it will be merely a heap of sand; grass and trees will grow (on it), and it will not last long,' the king rejected him. Another said: 'With a hundred men I shall do the work throwing down one heap of sand in one day.' Another said: 'I shall do the work throwing down five *ammaṇas*[3] (in one day).' Another said: 'I shall do the work using two *ammaṇas* of sand (in one day).' The king rejected them also. Another said: 'Sire, I am a skilled brick-mason, I shall pound (the sand) in a mortar, and have it sifted with winnowing baskets and crushed in the mill, and then I shall do the work with a hundred workmen, throwing down only one *ammaṇa* (a measure of capacity) of dust in one day.' The king thought: 'If this be so, there will be no grass and so forth at the great shrine, it will also last long,' and he agreed. Again he asked: 'But in what form will you build (it)?'

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[1] I.e. with forehead, waist, elbows, knees, and feet.

[2] Cf. *Mhvs.*, XXX—*yāva cetiyaniṭṭhānā bhikkhaṃ gaṇhatha me*, v. 1.

[3] A measure of capacity.

At that moment the god Vissakamma entered into the body of the mason. When the mason had had water brought and a golden bowl filled, he took (some) water in his hand and let it fall on the surface of the water. A great water-bubble rose up like unto a water-pot. He said: 'Sire, such as this will I make it.' The king consented, saying: 'Very well,' and bestowed on him a golden ornament, called *puṇṇaka,* worth a thousand (pieces of money) and shoes worth a thousand (pieces of money) and twelve thousand *kahāpaṇas* and a house in a suitable place as well as a field.

2. Thereupon the king pondered during the night: 'How shall I have the bricks fetched without harassing the people?' When the *devatās* knew this thought of the king, they heaped up during that very night bricks sufficient for one day at the four gates of the shrine. At daybreak the people saw them and informed the king. The king was delighted and set the mason to work. The *devatās* brought, in this fashion, bricks sufficient for each day till the great shrine was finished. All the day-time neither clay nor brick-powder was to be seen at the place where the work was being carried on; at night the *devatās* caused (it) to disappear.

3. Then the king, as wages for the labour at the great shrine of four groups of workmen, had each of the four gates brightened with sixteen thousand *kahāpaṇas,* garments, ornaments, perfumes, garlands, oil, honey, sugar, the five kinds of pungent medicaments, rice with various soups and curries, conjee, eatables and so forth, the eight kinds of allowable drinks[1] as well as betel leaves together with the five kinds of perfumes for the mouth, and he commanded: 'Let those who work at the great shrine, be they laymen or those who have renounced the world, take according to their wishes; work shall not be done (here) without wage.'

4. Then an Elder who wished to participate in the building of the shrine, prepared a clay-like thing in the place where work had been done and when he had taken in one hand a lump of clay prepared by himself and in the other a garland, and had ascended the terrace of the great shrine, evading the king's workmen, he gave it to the mason. Even while receiving it he knew that it was not the original clay and looked at the Elder's face. Recognizing his purpose, a tumult arose there. In due course, when the king heard this, he came and asked the mason: 'Look here! a monk, they say, gave you lump of clay that was not the original.'[2] He replied thus: 'Sire! with a flower in one hand the masters usually give me lumps of clay which they are holding in the other. So without suspecting it I brought (this lump of clay) into work. I know only this much: "This is an incoming (monk), that is a resident."' (The king) placed an old military official near the mason and said: 'Well then, show the Elder to this man.' When the Elder again came there, the mason showed him to the military official. The latter recognized him and informed the king. The king gave him a sign and said: 'Keep in a pile three pitchers filled with jasmine-blossoms in the

[1] Cf. *Vinaya,* I, 246.

[2] *Amūlaka,* not from the recognized store already made or gratuitous.

courtyard of the great Bodhi-tree and place perfumes there, and when the incoming Elder goes to the courtyard of the great Bodhi-tree, tell him: "These perfumes and garlands are given by the king for the purpose of honouring", and give them to him.' As enjoined by the king, the military official offered those perfumes and garlands to him as he was going to the courtyard of the Bodhi-tree. When he being pleased, had also cleansed the spreading of stones and had made a scented flooring, and had made a stone spreading and offered flowers and bowed down at the four points, he stood with folded hands at the east gate, and evincing joy, he stood gazing at the flower-offering. At that time the military official approached that Elder and having bowed down spoke thus: 'Revered sir, the king makes it known that he offers these in payment for the lump of clay that was not the original given by you in order to participate in the work (of building) the shrine, and he bids (me) pay homage in his name.' On hearing this the Elder was displeased. 'Revered sir, leaving aside any (consideration of) the three pitchers of jasmine-blossoms, even these pleasant golden flowers are not worth this lump of clay; Revered sir, be pleased at heart', said the military official and departed.

5. At that time an Elder, living in the monastery at Piyaṅgalla in the Koṭṭhivāla country, happened to be a kinsman of the brick-mason. He came and had a talk with the brick-mason, and when he had learnt the measurement of the bricks in length, thickness and width, he departed. Having carefully mixed clay with his own hand and having made and burnt a brick and placed it into a bag for carrying a bowl, he came back and with the king's brick in one hand and with a flower in the other, he gave the king's brick together with his own. The mason took them and brought them into the work. The Elder, full of joy and happiness, while doing work at the great shrine, lived in the Kaṭṭhahāla-pariveṇa.[1] His work became known. The king asked the mason: 'A brick that is not from the original (heap), they say, was given by one master.' He replied: 'Yes, sire, a brick was given by a master, and finding it the same as our brick, I brought it into the work.' Being asked by the king: 'Could you recognize that brick again?' Out of favour to his kinsmen, he replied: 'I could not recognize it.' The king placed a military official and said, 'Show him to this man.' And he showed him to the military official as before. When the military official had gone to the cell[2] and had taken his seat near him, he greeted him and asked: 'Sir, are you an incoming (monk) or a resident one?' 'I am an incoming, lay devotee.' 'Where do you live Revered sir?' 'I live in the monastery at Piyaṅgalla in the Koṭṭhivāla country, lay devotee.' 'Stay here, do not go away.' He said: 'I shall not stay here, on such and such a day I shall go away.' The military official said: 'I shall also go with you, my village is in the very same district and it

[1] As at *Mhvs.*, XXX, 34. The *Thūpavaṃsa* text reads iṭṭhakasāla-pariveṇa (?), a cell in a brick-hall.

[2] *Pariveṇa* or private chamber for a monk—*Vinaya*, I, 49; *ibid.*, I, 216.

is of such and such a name.' The Elder agreed, saying: 'Very well.' The military official reported this matter to the king. When the king had had a pair of garments worth a thousand (pieces of money), a costly red woollen blanket, a pair of sandals, a *nāḷi* [1] measure of fragrant oil and many other requisites of recluses given to the military official, he said: 'Give them to the Elder.' And when he had gone to the cell with the requisites and had stayed there with the Elder during the night, he started with him in the morning, and in due course having arrived at a place from which the Piyaṅgalla-monastery could be seen, he made the Elder sit down in a cool shade, and when he had washed his feet and rubbed them with fragrant oil and had given him a drink of sugar-water, he took out the sandals and said: 'These requisites have I brought for the Elder who visits my family; these do I now give to you. But this pair of cloaks have I taken for my son's auspicious ceremony; do you turn it into a cloak and put it on.' Saying this he placed them at the Elder's feet. When the Elder had placed the pair of cloaks in his bag for carrying his bowl, and had made a bundle of the remaining requisites, he put on his sandals, he set out on his journey taking his staff with him. When the military official had gone a little way with him, he said: 'Wait, Revered sir, this is the way I should go', and he informed the Elder of the king's message, as said above. On hearing it the Elder thought: 'The work done by me with great effort turns as though not done,' and disappointed shedding a shower of tears, he said: 'Lay-devotee, do you take back your requisites,' and as he was standing there, he threw away the requisites. The military official said: 'What do you say, Revered sir? Although this king offers you the best possible requisites, it is not possible to make them equal to your brick. He makes me do so only because he intends: "I will do the entire building of the great shrine without letting others share it." Do you, Revered sir, be pleased with the requisites acquired for yourself.' When he had convinced the Elder, he departed. Countless were, however, the beings who laboured for wages at this shrine and who with a believing heart went to heaven.

6. It is said that daughters of *devas* who were reborn in the abode of the Thirty-three,[2] observing their own fortune, reflected: 'By what deed have we obtained this fortune?' and when they became aware that they had obtained it because they had worked for wages at the great shrine, they pondered: 'If this is the kind of reward for work done for wages, of what kind will be the reward for work done by one believing in the result of action because it is due to one?' With *deva*-like perfumes and garlands they came during the night and having honoured the shrine, they bowed down. At that moment came the Elder named Mahāsiva who dwelt in Bhātivaṅka to bow down at the shrine and when he saw those (women) bowing down, he stood near the great Sattapaṇṇa-tree,[3] and when they were going away

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[1] A small measure of capacity—*Vinaya*, II, 116; *Saṃ.*, I, 182.

[2] See B. C. Law, *Heaven and Hell in Buddhist Perspective*, pp. 87 foll.

[3] Skt. *Saptaparṇa-tree*, *Alstonia scholaris*.

after bowing down according to their inclination, he asked them: 'The whole of Tambapaṇṇi island shines in one lustre with the brightness of your bodies; what deed did you do?' They replied: 'Revered sir! no work done is due to us, we worked only for wages inclining our thought towards this shrine.' Thus even work done for wages with a heart believing in the teaching of the Enlightened One produces a great reward. Hence (it has been said):

'An Enlightened One who perceives that only one with a heart believing in the Blessed One obtains the highest state of existence would do honour to a tope.' [1]

7. When the king had thus had the work at the shrine done, he had three ledges for flowers (offerings) finished. The cankerwaned so as to make them firm, had them sunk after having levelled the soil. Thus nine times did they have them sunk as they were laid. Not knowing the reason, the king was displeased and had the Order of monks convened. Eighty thousand monks assembled. When the king had honoured the Order of monks with perfumes, garlands and so forth and had paid homage to them, he enquired: 'Revered sirs, nine times did the three ledges for flowers (offerings) at the great shrine sink into the earth as they were laid; I know not what danger will come upon my life or my work.' The Order of monks said: 'Your majesty, there is no danger either to your life or work; they were sunk down by those having wondrous power in order that they might stand firm in the future. They will not make them sink down any more. Do you make no mistake, but complete the great tope.' When the king heard this, he, glad at heart, caused the work on the relic shrine to be continued. Ten ledges for flowers (offerings) were finished with ten crores of bricks.

Again when three ledges for flowers (offerings) had been finished, the Order of monks enjoined the two cankerwaned recluses, named Uttara and Sumana, saying: 'Bring six golden-coloured stones of equal regularity eight *ratanas* thick and measuring on each side eighty cubits (in length and breadth).' They consented, saying: 'Very well' and when they had gone to Northern Kuru and had brought six golden-coloured stones of the above measurements and like *bhaṇḍi*-flowers, they laid one stone at the base of the relic chamber, and arranged four stones on the four sides and kept the remaining (one) making it invisible, near the sand-wall on the east side, to cover up the relic chamber.

Thereupon in the middle of the relic chamber, did the king cause a Bodhi-tree to be made of all (varieties of) jewels, splendid in every respect. It rested on a ground of sapphire-gems. Its roots were made of coral. Its stem, eighteen cubits high, made of silver, was adorned with the eight auspicious figures of lucky calf and the like, and with rows of flowers and rows of creepers and rows of quadrupeds and geese. Its five great branches were also eighteen cubits long, its leaves were made of gems, its withered

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[1] Cf. *Mahāvaṃsa*, XXX, v. 43—*Cittappasādamattena sugate gati uttamā labbhatīti viditvāna thūpapūjaṃ kare budho.*

leaves were of gold and its fruits were of coral. Likewise above its sprouting (top) did he have a canopy fixed. Everywhere on its border hung a network of tinkling pearl-bells. Rows of little golden bells and wreaths of gold were hung here and there. At the four corners of the canopy were hung strings of pearls each worth nine hundred thousand (pieces of money). Faithful figures of the moon, sun and stars as well as lotus-flowers, made of various jewels, were inserted on it. More than a thousand and eight costly garments of varied colours were also hung from it. Further, when he had had railings made of the seven kinds of jewels around the Bodhi-tree, he had great myrobalan-pearls spread on them. Within the pearl-railing he caused to be arranged rows of full vases made of seven kinds of jewels and filled with fragrant water. Of these in a golden vase were flowers made of coral, in a coral vase were flowers made of gold, in a gem vase the flowers were made of silver, in a silver vase the flowers were made of gem, and in a vase made of the seven varieties of jewels were flowers of the seven varieties of jewels. On the east side of the Bodhi-tree, on the Jewelled Throne worth one crore, he caused to be seated a Buddha-image made of a solid mass of gold. The twenty nails of this (image) and the white parts of its eyes were made of crystal, the palms of its hands and soles of its feet and the coating of its teeth as well as the red parts of its eyes were made of coral, its hair and eyebrows and the dark part of its eyes were made of sapphire gems. But the hair between its eyebrows was made of silver. Thereupon he made a (figure of) the great Brahmā Sahampati stand there holding a silver parasol. Similarly did he make (a figure of) Sakka, king of the *devas*, together with (those of) the gods of the two *deva*-worlds carrying out the consecration with the Vijayuttara-shell, (the figure) of the *deva* Pañcasikha,[1] the heavenly musician, playing on his yellow lute of *vilva* wood, and (the figure) of Mahākāla, king of the serpents, surrounded by the serpent-maidens praising the Tathāgata with manifold shouts of praise. But he made (a representation of) the mighty Māra with his various weapons, such as the three-pointed stake, the club and so forth, not including his many thousand (such weapons), mounted on the trunk of the elephant Girimekhalā with her thousand frontal globes, and surrounded by a host of his troops performing many fearful deeds after coming to the Bodhi-courtyard. Among the remaining directions, when he had on the east side had three divans spread like the throne, each worth a crore, he had a coral fan placed with a handle made of ivory. And so as to keep the trunk of the Bodhi-tree at the head of the bed, he had a silver bed spread worth one crore, and adorned with various jewels.

He also caused to be depicted[2] the place regarded as the seat of enlightenment of him of the wakeful sight after he of the ten powers had obtained entire enlightenment; as well as the place in the Jewelled Walk

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[1] Cf. *Visuddhimagga*, 392; *Dhammapada Commentary*, III, 225.

[2] Explanations of the following events will be found in Geiger, *Mhvs. Transln.*, pp. 204ff.

where he had walked up and down for a week; and the spot where he had mastered the doctrine after entering the Jewelled Chamber; and how the serpent Mucalinda stood spreading its hood over him after having surrounded him seven times with its coils after he had gone and seated himself at the foot of the Mucalinda tree; and also the place where he had seated himself after going to the foot of the Ajapāla banyan tree; and further his acceptance of the bowl presented by the four guardian deities when he had gone and seated himself at (the foot of) Rājāyatana (tree) and when the merchants, Tappusa and Bhalluka, had offered him honey-food. Further did he cause to be depicted the prayer of Brahmā, the setting in motion of the Wheel of the Doctrine, the renunciation of the world by Yasa,[1] the renunciation of the world by the Bhaddavaggiyas, the subduing of the three matted-hair ascetic brothers, the visit of Bimbisāra to the Laṭṭhivana park,[2] his [3] entry into Rājagaha, his acceptance of the Bamboo grove,[4] and the eighty chief disciples. Further, did he cause to be depicted his journey to Kapilavatthu, the place where (the miracle had been displayed) in the Jewelled Walk, the renunciation of the world by Rāhula, the renunciation of the world by Nanda, the acceptance of Jeta-grove, (the display of) the twin-miracle at the foot of the Gaṇḍa-mango-tree, the preaching of the Abhidhamma in the *deva*-world, the miracle of the descent of the *devas*, and the assembly which questioned the Elders.

Likewise did he cause to be depicted the assemblies with (the preaching of) the Mahāsamaya,[5] Rāhulovāda,[6] Maṅgala,[7] and Pārāyaṇa Suttas,[8] the subduing of Dhanapāla, Āḷavaka, Aṅgulimāla, and Apalāla, his (Buddha's) relinquishing the constituents of life, his acceptance of tender pork, his acceptance of a pair of gold-coloured garments, the drinking of pure water, the entire passing away, the lamentation of *devas* and men, the adoration at the feet of the Blessed One by the elder Kassapa the Great, the cremation of the body, the extinguishing of the fire, the funeral rites, and the distribution of the relics by Doṇa the brāhman.

Similarly did he cause to be depicted the five hundred and fifty Jātakas. In depicting the Vessantara Jātaka,[9] however, he made (representations of) the great king Sañjaya, of the queen Phūsatī, of the queen Maddī, of the prince Jāliya and of Kaṇhajinā, moreover [10] the dispute over the elephant Paṇḍava, the seven hundred great gifts, the looking over the city, the gift of the Sindh horse, the drawing of the chariot by the *devatās* in the appearance of deer, the gift of the chariot, the receiving of fruits that had dropped of

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[1] *Vin.*, I, 15–18; cf. *Lalitavistara* (R. L. Mitra Ed.), p. 251; Bigandet, *The Life or Legend of Gaudama*, p. 55.

[2] It is about 2 miles north of Tapovana in the district of Gaya.

[3] I.e. the Buddha's.

[4] It is at Rājagaha—*Saṃ.*, I, p. 52.

[5] *Dīgha-N.*, II, pp. 253–62; *Suttanipāta*, pp. 63–66.

[6] *Majjhima-Nikāya*, I, pp. 414–26; III, pp. 277–80.

[7] *Suttanipāta*, pp. 46-7.

[8] *Suttanipāta*, pp. 190–223.

[9] *Jat.*, VI, pp. 479ff.

[10] The following events from the Vessantara Jātaka are not specified at *Mhvs.*, XXX.

themselves from trees and the offering of them to the children, the gift of a golden pin to a hunter who had offered honey and meat, the place where they had lived as wanderers in the heart of the Vaṅka mountain, the giving of children to Jūjaka, the giving of a wife to Sakka the brāhman, the place where Jūjaka had arrived before Sañjaya, the lord of men, with the children through the power of the *devas*; moreover the assembly of the six nobles in the heart of the Vaṅka mountain, the place where Vessantara and Maddī had received their consecration, the place where the shower of the seven varieties of jewels had fallen as they entered the city; and moreover the place where (the Bodhisatta) was reborn in the Tusita heaven having passed from this (world)—all these did he cause to be depicted fully.

Further did (the king) cause to be depicted the place where (the Bodhisatta) was prayed to by the gods of the ten thousand world-system, his not turning back, his entry into his mother, the queen Mahāmāyā's womb, the great king Suddhodana, the place where (the Bodhisatta) was born at Lumbini grove,[1] the descent of the two streams of water from the air, his going seven strides towards the north, the placing of the Great Being's feet on Kāḷadevala's head having matted hair, and the place where he had sat down cross-legged on the royal couch and attained meditation after finding the nurses careless in the immobile shade of the rose-apple tree. Further did he cause to be depicted Rāhula's mother as well as the good Rāhula. Further the place of his giving up (the world) when he, at the age of twenty-nine years, was out for amusement in the park and saw the three messengers of the *devas*; the so-called old man, sick man and dead man; the place adorned by Vissakamman as he was seated on a beautiful stone-slab, when he, on the fourth occasion, had seen one who had renounced the world, and thinking: 'renunciation is good', had gone to the park and had enjoyed the beauty of the park and had bathed himself in the evening; further the place whence he went forth on the Great Renunciation after he had marked the change in the dancers at midnight and had mounted the excellent horse Kanthaka; the way in which honour was done by the *devas* of the ten thousand world-system; the place of the shrine to which Kanthaka returned; his renunciation of the world on the bank of the river Anomā; his entry into Rājagaha; the prayer of King Bimbisāra under the shadow of Paṇḍava Hill to rule over his kingdom; his acceptance of milk-rice gruel offered by Sujātā; his partaking of rice-gruel on the bank of the river Nerañjarā; the miracle displayed near the river; the place where he passed the day-time in the Sāla-grove; his acceptance of the Kusa-grass offered by Sotthiya; and the place where he sat down on ascending the Bodhi-terrace,—all these did he cause to be depicted in detail.

8. Further did he cause to be depicted those seven persons who came along with, and were headed by Mahinda. At the four quarters,[2] the four

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[1] *Lumbinivana* is Rumminidei in the Nepalese Terai, 2 miles to the north of Bhagavānpur and about a mile to the north of Paderia—B. C. Law, *Geography of Early Buddhism*, p. 45.

[2] *Mhvs.*, XXX, 89, goes on from here much as *Thūp.*

great kings with swords in their hands did he cause to be depicted. Moreover the thirty-two *devas*, moreover the thirty-two celestial maidens bearing golden torches, the twenty-eight chiefs of the *yakkhas*, moreover the *devatās* standing with their hands folded in reverence, moreover the *devatās* standing and holding strands of flowers made of silver, moreover the *devatās* standing and holding golden vessels, moreover the *devatās* dancing, moreover the *devatās* playing musical instruments, moreover the *devatās* standing and holding mirrors, each worth a hundred thousand (pieces of money) and ten cubits long, moreover the *devatās* standing in like manner holding flowers and branches, each worth a hundred thousand (pieces of money), moreover the *devatās* standing and holding the moon's disc, moreover the *devatās* standing and holding the sun's disc, moreover the *devatās* standing and holding lotus blossoms, moreover the *devatās* standing and holding the four, moreover the *devatās* of wrestlers wearing variegated apparels, moreover the *devatās* beating their garments, moreover the *devatās* standing and holding costly jewels, moreover the *devatās* standing and holding the Wheels of the Doctrine, moreover sword-bearing *devatās*, and moreover the *devatās* standing and bearing on their heads golden pitchers, five cubits high, filled with fragrant oil and having wicks of jute fibres made into burning lamps,—(all these) did he cause to be depicted. Moreover, in the four corners on the top of an arch of crystal, did he cause to be set up four great gems, and in the four corners did he cause to be depicted four heaps of gold, gems, pearls and diamonds. Further, on a wall made of golden-coloured stones did he cause (the representation of) lightning to be made. Moreover jewelled creepers, moreover chowries, moreover young female serpents standing and holding blue and white lotuses, did he cause to be depicted.

9. So many figures did the king cause to be depicted on a solid mass of gold. And the remaining modes of honouring did he cause to be made of the seven varieties of jewels. But even here the stock of utensils for honouring, as described, is boundless and immeasurable. The Elder Cittagutta who dwelt on the Mango Rock, as he was preaching the doctrine to an assembly of twelve thousand monks beneath the Brazen Palace, having begun with the *Rathavinītasutta*,[1] and while praising the enshrining of the great relics, said, drawing back as he thought: 'Some will believe.' At that moment the cankerwaned Elder named Tissa the great who dwelt in the Koṭa-mountain, while sitting nearby, and listening to the doctrine, said: 'Friend! the preachers of the doctrine are spoken to by you; but there is (something) lacking. Speak in detail without drawing back.' Now, in this very island there was a great king named Bhātiya, faithful and believing. Both morning and evening he would do homage to the great shrine and then take his food. One day, as he was seated at the court-house and was deciding a case hard to decide, he let his hand fall on the food brought unto him forgetting to do homage to the tope and he asked the people: 'Today have I paid homage to the Master or not?' The ancient kings

[1] *Majjhima-Nikāya*, I, pp. 145–51.

called the Teacher, the Master. The people answered: 'You have not paid homage, sir.' At that moment the king, letting the lump of food which he had taken in his hand fall on the dish, rose from his seat, and when he had arrived at the south gate and had had it opened, he ascended to the courtyard of the great shrine by the east gate, and while doing homage there, he heard the voice of the cankerwaned expounding the doctrine inside the relic-chamber and thought: 'They must be at the south gate.' Going there and not finding them, he went to the other gates also in this way. Not finding them even there, he thought: 'The masters are walking about as they expound the doctrine,' and when he had placed men at the four gates to watch them, he himself walking out again but not finding them, enquired of the men and discovering that they had not been outside (the shrine), he concluded: 'They must be within the relic-chamber.' When he had moved nearer to the east gate stretching forth his hands and feet and with his face towards the great shrine and had offered his life, he lay down and made this firm resolve: 'If the masters do not show me the relic-chamber, I will fast for seven days and will not rise even though (my body) will undergo mutation like a handful of dried chaff.' Through the power of his merit Sakka's abode became hot. When, on reflection, Sakka knew the cause of it, he came and spoke thus to the Elders who were expounding the doctrine: 'Revered sirs, this king is pious and believes in the teachings of the Enlightened One. On hearing the sound of the recital (of the doctrine) he lies down at this place, making this firm resolve: 'I will not rise without seeing the relic-chamber. If he cannot see the relic-chamber, he will die then and there. Let him enter and see the relic-chamber.' And the Elders, out of compassion for him, bade one Elder to show him the relic-chamber, saying 'Bring the king in and send him back after showing him the relic-chamber.' Taking the king by the hand he let him enter the relic-chamber, and let him do homage according to his inclination and then he sent him after he had examined everything. When the king had returned to the city and later had had figures made inlaid with gold similar to those he himself had seen in the relic-chamber and had had a great pavilion built within the royal courtyard and had had those figures arranged in that pavilion and had brought together the citizens, he said: 'Such were the golden figures seen by me in the relic-chamber.' Since these figures were made similar to those (in the relic-chamber), they were known as the genuine figures.

10. Every year did the king take out those figures and exhibit them to the citizens. At the time of the first exhibition the citizens were joyous, and when they had taken their boys, one from each family, they let them renounce the world. Again the king thought: 'There are many masters who do not know this kind of thing, I shall also make them known to them', and when he had gone to the monastery and had brought together the Order of monks beneath the Brazen Palace, he himself took the preacher's seat, and when he had spoken till the third watch of the night on the manner of offering in the relic-chamber, he rose (from his seat), not even being able to finish it. There a monk asked the king: 'Your majesty, you are come

after taking your morning meal; although you were speaking until the third watch of the night, you could not even finish your description of the manner of offering in the relic-chamber. Is there also much else?' The king replied: 'What are you speaking of, Revered sir? All that I have spoken about to you is not even sufficient for one-tenth part of it. But I spoke of just as much as I had examined there. Endless is the manner of offering in the relic-chamber, Revered sir.'

11. Thus it was not easy even to replenish constantly the endless stock of articles for offering in the square relic-chamber, each of the sides of which was eighty cubits long. How much more (difficult) to arrange it fitly? 'Let it be. It is not possible to replenish constantly the boundary dividing the sand-wall from the relic-chamber up to the great shrine, therefore take all those articles for offering.' Whatever should be said here was likewise said by the ancients.

12. It is said that the Elder Mahāsiva,[1] the incumbent of Nigrodhapiṭṭhi, well versed in the Piṭakas, having seated himself in Rājagaha, while relating the *Dasabala-Sīhanādasutta*[2] to the king, praised the enshrining of the relics, and recited the Suttanta. The king spoke to the Elder thus: 'Revered sir, this relic-chamber is square and on each side it is eighty cubits long, and yet there are so many articles for offering here; who would believe it?' The Elder said: 'Have you ever heard how great was the Indasāla cave?' The king replied: 'It was as big as a small bed, Revered sir.' Then the Elder asked: 'Your majesty, have you ever heard how many assemblies went into the cave on the day when our Teacher preached the *Sakkapañhasuttanta*[3] to Sakka?' 'The *devas* of the two *deva*-worlds, Revered sir', replied the king. 'If this is so, should not this also be believed, Your majesty?' When the Elder had spoken, the king said: 'But it was due to the psychic power of *devas*; *devas*' psychic power is incomprehensible (to others), Revered sir.' Then said the Elder: 'Your majesty, that which took place was due only to one psychic power, that of *devas*, but this was produced by these three psychic powers, namely, the royal psychic power of kings, the *devas*' psychic power (of *devas*) and the noble psychic power of noble ones.' The king consented to the Elder's words, saying: 'Yes!' and when he had honoured the Elder with a white parasol and having a parasol carried over his head and leading him to the great monastery, he again gave parasols for a week for the great shrine, and honoured it with jasmine flowers. Just to explain this meaning, many other stories may also be referred to. These are omitted by us as (we think that) there is no need of them (here).

13. And herein because a king is one who possesses great authority, is of great power, fulfils the perfections and forms a resolution, therefore his psychic power should be called 'royal'. Since by the order of Sakka (all the

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[1] Cf. *M.T.* 555, which instead of Rājagaha reads *rañño geha*, in the king's house; Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, II, 571.

[2] *Majjhima-Nikāya*, I, pp. 68–83 (*Mahāsīhanāda-Sutta*).

[3] *Dīgha-Nikāya*, II, pp. 263–89.

devas), beginning with the *deva* Vissakamman, approach and do (his bidding), therefore their psychic power is to be understood as '*devas*'. The Elder Indagutta, the superintendent of buildings, had the minor and lesser works done (in the relic-chamber) according to his instruction; not merely the Elder alone but also all the noble ones were zealous in their respective duties. (Hence) it should be understood that it was built by these three psychic powers.

It has indeed been said in the *Mahāvaṃsa* [1]:

'The great Elder Indagutta who was gifted with six higher faculties, most wise, directed all this, being the superintendent of the building here. All this was established without obstacle by royal psychic power and by the psychic power of the *devas* and by the psychic power of the noble ones.'

The account of the description of the relic chamber.

CHAPTER X

THE ACCOUNT OF THE ENSHRINEMENT OF THE RELICS

1. When the king [2] has thus completed the building which had to be done at the relic-chamber, he went to the monastery on the fourteenth day (of the month) and had the Order of monks convened. The monks who assembled, were thirty thousand in number. When the king had done homage to the Order of monks, he spoke thus: 'The work that had to be done in the relic-chamber has been completed by me; the relics will be enshrined tomorrow, under the Uttarāsāḷha constellation, on the observance day of the month of Āsāḷha; please find the relics, Revered sirs.' When he had thus entrusted the Order of monks with this business, he went into the city.

2. Now, the Order of monks, while seeking a monk to bring the relics, saw a recluse named Soṇuttara who was gifted with six supernatural faculties, who dwelt in the Pūjā-pariveṇa and was sixteen years old, and sent for him and said: 'Friend Soṇuttara, the king having completed the relic-chamber, entrusted the Order of monks with the business of bringing the relics; you should therefore bring the relics.' 'I shall do so, Revered sirs, (but) where shall I get the relics from?' he asked. The Order of monks spoke to him thus: 'Friend Soṇuttara, the Tathāgata lying on his death-bed, spoke to Sakka, king of the *devas*, addressing him thus: "Of the eight *doṇas* of my bodily relics one *doṇa*, adored (first) by the Koliyas will, in future, be enshrined at the great shrine in Tambapaṇṇi island." '

3. Now, when the Blessed One had passed away entirely, the brāhman Doṇa divided the relics into eight shares and gave them to the people of eight cities. They built shrines, one in each city, and deposited (their

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[1] *Mahāvaṃsa*, XXX, vv. 98-99.

[2] Cf. *ibid.*, XXXI.

shares therein). Of these, the shrine built by the Koliyas[1] at Rāmagāma was destroyed by a flood and the urn with the relics passed into the ocean and remained there covered with the six-coloured rays on a surface of sand of jewels. When the serpents saw this they went to the serpent-abode Mañjerika, and informed the serpent-king Mahākāla. Surrounded by ten thousand crores of serpents, he came there, and when he had honoured it with perfumes, garlands and so forth and had had banners of gold, coral, gems and silver raised there and had placed the relic-urn in a gem-casket, he took it on his head, and when he had gone in the midst of various serpent dancers holding the fivefold musical instrument and had brought it to the serpent-abode with great reverence and honour and had honoured it, spending ninety-six crores (of pieces of money), and had built a shrine and a temple for the shrine with all (varieties of) jewels, he deposited the relics therein. The Elder Kassapa the great, while enshrining the relics, did not take the relics from Rāmagāma but brought and gave the remaining relics to Ajātasattu. The king asked: 'Why have not the relics in Rāmagāma been brought?' The Elder replied: 'Your majesty, there is no danger to them, they will be established in the future in the great shrine in Tambapaṇṇi island.' The righteous king Asoka, too, opened the receptacle of relics, and when he beheld it but could not find the eighth *doṇa*[2] of relics he enquired: 'Where is the other *doṇa* of relics, Revered sir?' 'Your majesty, that was kept in the shrine built by the Koliyas on the bank of the Ganges and the shrine, being destroyed by a flood, passed into the great ocean; when the serpents saw it they took it to their own serpent-abode where they preserved it', said those who were cankerwaned. The king said: 'The serpent-abode is within my royal prerogative; I shall bring also that, Revered sir.' They prevented him, saying: 'Your majesty, those relics will be established in the future in the great shrine in Tambapaṇṇi island.'

'Therefore, you, having gone to the serpent-abode, Mañjerika, bring the relics, telling the serpent-king this news: "Tomorrow the enshrining of the relics shall take place."' Soṇuttara agreed, saying: 'Very well', and he went away to his own cell. And when the king had gone to the city he proclaimed by drum: 'Tomorrow the enshrining of the relics shall take place, let the citizens be adorned according to their own means and with perfumes, garlands and so forth, let them come down to the open space before the great shrine.' Sakka, too, commanded Vissakamman[3]: 'Tomorrow the enshrining of the relics shall take place in the great shrine; decorate the whole island of Tambapaṇṇi.' Next day, when he had made

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[1] They possessed two territories of Devadaha and Rāmagāma. They used to dwell in the Kola tree. Hence they came to be called *Koliyas*. The Koliyas of Rāmagāma originally came from the same ethnic group as the Koliyas of Devadaha. They were one of the republican clans in Buddha's time. B. C. Law, *Tribes in Ancient India*, pp. 290–92.

[2] A measure of capacity, 4 *Āḷhaka* generally (cf. *Petavatthu*, IV, 3). '*Cattāro patthā āḷhakāni doṇam.*' *Pattha* = $\frac{1}{4}$ of an *āḷhaka*.

[3] Celestial architect. An architect and artist to the *devas* and especially to Indra. It was he who built the Sudhammasabhā of Indra.

Tambapaṇṇi island, ninety-nine *yojanas* in extent, levelled as a piece of ground for the *Kasiṇa*-exercise,[1] and had covered it with flowers of five colours like a silver bowl filled with sand, and had had rows of filled pitchers placed on all sides and had surrounded (the place) with screens and had fastened canopies over it, and had had land-lotuses exhibited on the earth and hanging lotuses in the air, he equipped it like an adorned hall of the *devas*. He made the great ocean calm and covered with lotuses of five colours. By the power of the relics the entire world-system was equipped as at the time of (the Bodhisatta's) entering into his (mother's) womb, and as at the time of his supreme enlightenment and so forth. And when the citizens had swept the streets in the city and had sprinkled over them sand-like pearls and fruits and had also scattered clusters of flowers with *lāja* as the fifth and had raised banners and flags of various colours, they equipped the city, adorning it with golden jars, gateways of plantain trees, costly garlands, and so forth. At the four gates of the city, various solid and soft food, perfumes, garlands, garments, ornaments and betel-leaves together with five kinds of perfume for the mouth were placed by the king for the benefit of poor people. Thereupon the king, arrayed in all his ornaments, mounted into his lovely chariot drawn by four Sindhu horses of the colour of white lotus petals, and he stood there, making the adorned elephant Kaṇḍula pace before him, holding on its head a golden casket under the white parasol. At that moment many thousand dancing women like the nymphs of Sakka, the king of the *devas*, and resembling celestial maidens decked with various ornaments and his ten great warriors and his fourfold army surrounded the king. Likewise, more than a thousand and eight women with filled pitchers surrounded him. More than a thousand and eight men and as many women bearing baskets filled with flowers, candlesticks and many-coloured flags surrounded him. The king thus set forth in great royal dignity like the king of the *devas* going to the Nandanavana. The great earth then seemed as it were rent asunder by sounds from various musical instruments and by the noise of elephants, horses and chariots.

4. At that moment Soṇuttara, sitting in his own cell, knew by sounds of the musical instruments that the king had set forth, and when he had attained to the fourth stage of meditation, forming a basis of profound knowledges, by his resolve he plunged into the earth and appeared before the serpent-king Mahākāla in the serpent-abode, Mañjerika. When the king of the serpents saw Soṇuttara he rose from his seat, and when he had greeted him and had washed his feet with scented water and had honoured him with beautiful and fragrant flowers and had taken his seat on one side, he asked: 'Whence do you come, Revered sir?' When he was told: 'I have come from Tambapaṇṇi island', he enquired: 'For what purpose?' 'Your majesty, in Tambapaṇṇi island the great king Duṭṭhagāmaṇi Abhaya while building the great shrine gave the Order of monks the charge of

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[1] One of the aids to *Kammaṭṭhāna*, the practice by means of which mystic meditation may be attained.

(bringing) the relics. Three thousand monks gathered together in the great shrine and they sent me with these words: "The relics kept apart for the great tope are with the serpent-king Mahānāga; tell him this news and bring the relics." Therefore have I come here', he replied. When the serpent-king heard this, he, as it were overcome by a mountain, became overpowered with great dejection and thought thus: 'Honouring these relics I shall set myself free from purgatory and shall be reborn in heaven, thus we thought; but this monk is mighty and of great psychic power; if these relics are to be kept in this place he might be able to overpower us and take them; therefore the relics ought to be carried elsewhere.' And when he, looking at his retinue, saw his nephew, named Vāsuladatta, standing at the end of the retinue, he gave him a sign. The latter, understanding the intention of his uncle, went to the temple of the shrine, and when he had taken and swallowed the relic-urn he went to the foot of Mount Sineru.[1]

When that being of wondrous might had created a ring one hundred *yojanas* around and three hundred *yojanas* long, and also many hundred thousand hoods, he lay down coiled in a circle, in smokes and flames, on the surface of sand at the foot of (Mount) Sineru. When he had created many thousand snakes like himself, he made them lie on all sides surrounding him. Many *devas* and serpents then came there with the thought: 'We will behold the fight between the two *nāgas*.'[2]

5. Thereupon the king of the serpents, knowing that the relics had been removed by his nephew, spoke thus: 'No relics are with me, you go swiftly without delay and tell this news to the Order of monks. The Order of monks being aware of it, will look about for the relics.' The recluse told him from the beginning the story of the coming of the relics and urged him: 'The relics are with you, give them to me without delay.' Thereupon the serpent-king understood that the recluse possessed (the knowledge of) the source (of the relics), and thought: 'By whatever means, I ought to send him back without giving him the relics', and then he took the recluse to the temple of the relics, and showed him the shrine and the temple for the shrine. That shrine as well as that temple for the shrine were, however, made entirely of jewels.

It has been said, indeed, in the *Mahāvaṃsa*[3]:

'O monk, look at this shrine and this temple for the shrine, well built and well embellished with many gems in many ways.'

When the serpent-king had shown him these and had come down from the temple for the shrine, he stood on a lotus of coral on the half-moon

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[1] The highest of the mountain peaks in Jambudīpa is the Sineru which is encompassed by seven celestial ranges. It is called the Mount Meru. For details, B. C. Law, *Geography of Early Buddhism*, XVI, 43.

[2] Cf. *Mahāvaṃsa*, XXXI, vv. 54–56. Nāgas are the supernatural beings, snake-demons, sometimes represented in human form with a snake's hood in the neck, sometimes as mixed forms, half man half snake—Geiger, *Mahāvaṃsa Transln.*, 294.

[3] *Ibid.*, v. 60—*cetiyaṃ cetiyagharaṃ*.

stone and said: 'Please ascertain the value of this shrine and the temple for the shrine, Revered sir.' 'Your majesty, it is not possible to ascertain their value; all the jewels in Tambapaṇṇi island are not worth as much as this half-moon stone' said the recluse. 'If this be so, is it not unseemly to carry away the relics from a place of high honour to a place of lesser honour, monk?' asked the serpent-king. The recluse spoke thus: 'Your majesty, Enlightened Ones attribute importance to things transcendental, not material; you may build a jewelled temple as high as the world-system and fill it entirely with jewels and carefully attend the relics, but there is not even a single serpent who can realize the doctrine.

There is no realization of the truth among your serpents. It were fitting indeed to carry away the relics to a place where there is realization of the truth. The Tathāgatas are born for the deliverance (of others) from the ill of existence, and thereon is the Enlightened One intent, therefore will we carry away the relics. Indeed, this very day the king will set about enshrining the relics; so without delay give me the relics quickly.' [1]

Being thus told, the serpent-king was bewildered, and thinking that the relics had already been concealed by his own nephew, he spoke thus: 'Revered Sir, you do not know whether the relics are in the shrine or not, yet you say: "Give, give." I say: "They are not here." If you see (the relics), take them and go.' 'I shall take (them), Your majesty.' 'Take them, monk.' And having acknowledged his permission three times:—

'Did that monk standing even there create a (long) slender arm, and stretching his hand straightway down the throat of the nephew he took the relic-urn, and uttering: "Stay, *nāga*!" he plunged into the earth and rose up (out of it) into his cell.' [2]

6. And when the assemblies of the *devas* and the serpents who had gathered there with the thought: 'We will witness the recluse's contest with the serpent', saw the monk's victory over the serpent, they were glad and joyous, and honouring the relics they came together with him. When the recluse had gone away, the serpent-king thought: 'The monk was sent away, deceived by me,' and he, glad and cheerful, sent a message to his nephew to return with the relics.

'But when the nephew could not find the urn in his belly he came lamenting and told his uncle. Then the serpent-king also lamented: "We are deceived", and all the serpents who came together (there) also lamented.' [3]

7. Thereupon all the serpents assembled in the serpent-abode, and they had loosened their hair and held their hearts in both hands, and with eyes like blue and white lotuses, shedding a shower of tears, as it were, in intense grief.

'They came lamenting to the Order of the mighty ones and in many ways (bahudhā) wailed sorrowful over the carrying away of the relics.' [4]

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[1] *Mahāvaṃsa*, XXXI, vv. 63–65.

[2] *Ibid.*, vv. 67-8—*nimujjitvā paṭhaviyaṃ pariveṇamhi uṭṭhahi.*

[3] Cf. *Mahāvaṃsa*, XXXI, vv. 70-71.

[4] *Ibid.*, v. 73.

8. And lamenting, they spoke thus to the Order of monks: 'Revered sirs! through the power of our merit, without hurting anyone, we obtained the relics and carefully attended (them) for a long time. Why do you have them taken completely away (from us) and cause an obstruction to our (attainment of) heaven and emancipation?'

'Out of compassion the Order caused a few of the relics to be given to them; rejoicing at this they went away and fetched goods for offering (pūjābhaṇḍāni).' [1]

9. Thereupon Sakka, king of the *devas*, addressing Vissakamman, said: 'Build a pavilion made of the seven (varieties of) jewels at the place where the recluse emerged (from the earth).' Instantly did he build the pavilion. Then Sakka, surrounded by the assemblies of *devas* of the two *deva*-worlds, came with a jewelled throne and a casket of gold, and in that pavilion he had (the throne) set up, and when he had received the relic-urn from the hand of the recluse, he placed it on the throne. At that time—

'Brahmā held the parasol, Santusita the yak-tail chowrie, Suyāma the jewelled fan and Sakka the conch-shell with water. The four great kings stood with swords in their hands, and the thirty-two *devas* of great psychic power with baskets on their arms. As they stood there offering flowers of the coral tree, the thirty-two (celestial) maidens also stood there holding torches. Moreover, to ward off the evil *yakkhas*, the twenty-eight *yakkha*-chieftains stood keeping guard. Pañcasikha stood there playing the lute, and so did Timbaru who had set up a stage, bringing forth sounds of music. And there were many *devas* singing sweet songs, and the serpent-king Mahākāla chanting praises in manifold ways. Celestial musical instruments resounded, a celestial chorus pealed forth, and the *devatās* let fall showers of celestial perfumes.' [2]

10. Then to ward off Māra, the elder Indagutta created in the sky a parasol of copper as big as the world-system. The Elders well versed in the five Nikāyas [3] who had taken their seats in the five regions surrounding the relics made a recital (of the doctrine) in chorus. At that time the king came to that place, and when he had taken the golden casket from his head and had laid the relic-casket in his own casket and had placed it upon the throne and had honoured it with perfumes, garlands, and so forth and had done homage with the fivefold prostration raising his folded hands to his head, and with his eyes open, he stood (there) gazing at it.

11. At that moment the white parasol was seen above the relics, but Brahmā holding the parasol was not seen. Similarly the yak-tail chowrie and so forth were seen, but those who held them were not seen. Sounds from the celestial musical instruments and choruses were heard, but the musicians and *devas* were not seen. When the king saw this miracle he spoke to the Elder Indagutta thus: 'The *devatās* honoured (the relics) with the celestial parasol, I shall honour (them) with an earthly parasol,

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[1] *Ibid.*, v. 74. [2] Cf. *ibid.*, XXXI, vv. 78–84.

[3] *Dīgha, Majjhima, Saṃyutta, Aṅguttara* and *Khuddaka*, see B. C. Law, *History of Pali Lit.*, Vol. I.

Revered sir.' The Elder said: 'Seemly it is, Your majesty.' When the king had honoured (the relics) with his own white parasol with its golden covering and had taken a ceremonial vessel of gold and had poured down the water of consecration, on that day he gave overlordship to the whole of Tamba-paṇṇi island. Then they took up all kinds of musical instruments and showed great reverence, honouring them with perfumes, garlands and so forth. Again the king asked the Elder: 'Did our Teacher carry two parasols, a celestial one and an earthly one, Revered sir?' 'Not two parasols, but three parasols, Your majesty.' 'I do not see the other parasol, Revered sir.' 'When he had raised the superb white parasol of emancipation with morality as its basis, concentration as its staff, the faculties as its ribs, power as its wreath, the attainment of the fruits of the way as its covering, he, not having obtained the consecration (of a king), set in motion the jewelled Wheel of the Doctrine and reigned, taking possession of the kingdom of a Buddha in the ten thousandfold world-system.' 'On the Teacher who bears the three parasols I bestow three times my overlordship.' With these words did the king honour the relics three times with (the offering of his) overlordship. Thereupon as *devas* and men were honouring (the relics) with heavenly perfumes, garlands and so forth, and many kinds of choruses and musical instruments were being sounded, the king with the relic-urn upon his head, set out from the jewelled pavilion, and when, surrounded by the Order of monks, he had gone around the great shrine keeping it to his right side, he ascended it by the eastern gateway and descended into the relic-chamber. Thereupon ninety-six crores of arahants stood surrounding the great shrine. The king thought: 'I will take down the relic-casket from my head and place it on the costly couch.' At that moment the relic-casket went up from the king's head to a height of seven palm-trees and opened of itself; the relics rose up in the air, and assuming the form of the Buddha, gleaming with the thirty-two signs of a great man and the eight minor signs and the halo, and adorned with a garland of rays, and resplendent with various blazes of rays divided into blue, yellow, red and so forth, they performed the Twin-miracle, even as the Twin-miracle (displayed by the Buddha) at the foot of the Gaṇḍamba-tree. Twelve crores of gods and men attained to arahantship, as they beheld with believing hearts that miracle of the relics; those who reached the three other fruitions (of the way) were beyond reckoning. Thus displaying the miracle in various ways and giving up the form of the Buddha, the relics entered the urn and descended with it and rested on the king's head. The king, as though he was anointed with immortality, thought: 'My birth as a human being has been fruitful', and when he had taken the relic-urn in both hands and had gone away, surrounded by dancers, to the adorned couch and had placed the relic-casket on the jewelled throne and with his hand had washed them with water fragrant with perfumes and had rubbed them with four kinds of perfumes and had opened the jewelled urn, he thought thus:

'If the relics shall abide undisturbed by anyone whosoever, and if the relics, serving as a refuge for the people, shall endure (long), then may

they lie in the form of the Teacher as he lay upon the bed of utter passing away, even upon this well-prepared and costly couch.'[1]

12. When he had thought thus he laid the relics upon the beautiful couch. Instantly the relics lay there upon the costly couch, assuming the form of the Buddha as in the manner as thought of by the king.

'On the observance day, the fifteenth (day) in the bright half of the month of Āsāḷha, under the constellation *Uttarāsāḷha*, were the relics enshrined in this way. At the enshrining of the relics the great earth quaked and many wonders came to pass in diverse ways.'[2]

13. Verily at that time this great earth bounded by the water trembled, quaked and shook violently; the great ocean stirred up; lightnings flashed in the sky; rain showered suddenly; there was a tumult in the six *deva*-worlds. When the king had beheld this wonder and with believing heart had honoured the relics with his own white parasol having wreaths of gold, and had conferred on them the overlordship of Tambapaṇṇi island for a week, he took off his articles of adornment worth thirty hundred thousand (pieces of money) and offered them. And likewise did all the dancing-women, the ministers and the rest of the multitude and the *devas* offer all their ornaments. Hence (it has been said):

'If a man honours with reverence the Sugata (Blessed One) who is adored by the three worlds, while he was yet living, or if he honours his relics even of the size of a mustard seed; and if he is of serenity of the self and calmness, he understands: The reward of (both) these meritorious works is equal then will the wise man honour a relic, even though Sugata has passed away entirely.'[3]

14. Thereupon the king, having bestowed cloths for the robes on the Order as well as medicaments, such as sugar, clarified butter and so forth, made it recite in chorus the whole night. Next day, he had the drum beaten in the city; 'Let the multitude go and adore the relics with perfumes, garlands and so forth throughout this week.' And the Elder Indagutta resolved: 'Those men of the whole of Tambapaṇṇi island who would fain adore the relics shall come (here) at the same moment, and when they have adored (the relics) they shall return each to his own place.' The people went away, having adored the relics accordingly. When the king had bestowed a great gift upon the Order for a week, he at the end of the week, informed the Order: 'All that was to be done in the relic-chamber has been carried out by me; (now) close up the relic-chamber, Revered sirs!' Addressing the recluses, Uttara and Sumana, the Order said: 'Close up the relic-chamber with the golden-coloured stone that you have already brought.' They consented, saying: 'Very well', and closed up the relic-chamber. Thereupon the cankerwaned resolved: 'In the relic-chamber the perfumes shall not dry up; the wreaths (of flowers) shall not wither; the lamps shall not be extinguished; the jewels shall not be discoloured; the articles of worship

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[1] Cf. *Mahāvaṃsa*, XXXI, vv. 106-7.
[2] *Ibid.*, XXXI, vv. 109-10.
[3] Cf. *ibid.*, XXX, v. 100.

shall not perish; the golden-coloured stones shall hold together; (the relics) shall not be seen by adversaries.' When the king had thus had the relics enshrined, he again had the drum beaten in the city: 'Let those who would fain enshrine the relics in the great shrine, having brought the relics enshrine them.' On the surface of the golden-coloured stones, above the relic treasure did the multitude there place the relics, putting them, each according to his own might, into the caskets of gold, silver and so forth. The relics were deposited (herein) by a thousand in all.

Here ends the account of 'The enshrining of the relics' in the Legend of the Topes compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the believing people.

CHAPTER XI

THE ACCOUNT OF THE GREAT SHRINE

1. Thereupon when the king had had all those (relics) closed, he, in course of building the shrine, had (the work of) the quadrangular chamber completed together with the inner portion (of the shrine). Then, before the work on the parasol and the plaster-work (on the shrine) was finished, he fell sick with a fatal disease, and having had his younger brother sent for from Dīghavāpī, he said: 'The work on the parasol and the plaster-work at the shrine are unfinished: have them finished quickly and satisfy me, dear.' Knowing the king to be weak, he thought: 'It is not possible to do the work, that is not yet finished before (he dies) and having had a covering made of white cloth, he had the shrine covered (with it), and on the covering did he have made by painters a railing and rows of filled vases and the five-finger marks. When he had had a parasol of bamboo-reeds made by plaiters of reeds and on the upper railing had had discs of the sun and moon made of rough cloth and had had this (covering) painted with lac and kaṅkuṭṭhaka,[1] he informed the king: 'The work on the relic shrine is finished.' The king said: 'Well then, show me the great shrine,' and when he, lying on a palanquin, had passed round the shrine keeping it to his right side and had had spread his couch upon the ground at the south gate, he lay down there, and as he, lying on his right side, beheld the great relic shrine, and lying on his left side the Brazen Palace, he became glad at heart. Then ninety-six crores of monks who, bearing in mind the great help rendered by the king to the teaching, had come from here and there to enquire after the sick (king), stood surrounding the king. Thereupon the Order, group by group, recited in chorus. When the king did not see the Elder Theraputtābhaya in that assembly, he thought thus: 'When I fought twenty-eight great battles with the Damiḷas, he did not retreat; now that (my)

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[1] = Skt. Kaṅkuṣṭha, 'a kind of soil or mould of a golden or silver colour', see *Mahāvaṃsa*, p. 355 note.

death-struggle is begun he comes not, because methinks he sees my defeat. Then the Elder, who had been dwelling at the head of the Karinda river on the Pajjalita-mountain, knew the king's thought, and surrounded by five hundred cankerwaned he came through the air and appeared before the king. When the king saw the Elder he invited him to be seated before him and spoke thus: 'Revered sir, with your help, having captured ten great warriors, I fought with the Damiḷas; now have I begun to struggle alone with death, but I am not able to overcome the enemy death.' Thereupon the Elder Theraputtābhaya answered: 'Fear not, O Lord of men. Not having conquered the enemy of the corruptions, enemy death is unconquerable.' [1]

2. Saying this he instructed (the king) thus: 'O great king! all the world is affected by birth, bestrewn with old age, overcome by disease, carried away by death.' So it has been said:

'Just as the great rocky mountains, touching the sky and crushing the four quarters, would go round about everywhere, even so do old age and death advance upon beings—the nobles, brāhmans, merchants, serfs, low classes, and sweepers. (Death) avoids nothing; it crushes even all. There is no use for elephants, nor for chariots nor for infantry; it is not even possible to conquer it by a diplomatic stratagem or by wealth.'

3. 'Therefore did this very death fall on Sammata the great and the rest of great fame, on Jotiya and the rest of great merit, on Baladeva and the rest of great strength, on Moggallāna the great and the rest of psychic power, on Sāriputta and the rest possessing insight, on the individual Buddhas who obtained truths by their self-dependent knowledge, on the Supreme Buddhas who were endowed with all virtues; why then not on other individuals? 'Hence, all those kings of great fame, Mahāsammata and the rest, fared their best, and likewise did the highly powerful Baladeva and the rest go to impermanence. Even did the most wealthy Jotiya, Meṇḍaka and the rest who had become famous and meritorious, all enter the mouth of death with their riches, as does the moon the mouth of Rāhu. Among the Tathāgata's sons possessing wondrous power that Elder who was renowned as the best also entered the mouth of death with his psychic power, Your majesty. And did the disciple, the generalissimo of the Law, equal to none among all beings, save the conqueror, in respect of wisdom, go to impermanence, Your majesty. And the self-dependent ones who had reached tranquillity, Your majesty, by the power of their self-dependent knowledge, they all, being possessed of the power of knowledge, also could not pass beyond the state of impermanence. And the *Sugata* the best of men, protector of the three worlds, who had transcended impermanence, could not escape (it), Oh king! not to speak of other beings. Therefore, Your majesty, all beings in the worlds seek to be free from death. Think you: Even all that has come into existence is impermanent, ill and not of the self.'

[1] Cf. *Mahāvaṃsa*, XXXII, v. 18—*ajeyyo maccusattuko*.

'And in your last mortal existence, your love for the (true) doctrine was indeed great. Albeit the *deva*-world was ready (for you), yet did you, renouncing heavenly bliss, return to this world doing many works of merit in manifold ways. Moreover, the setting up of sole sovereignty by you did serve to bring glory to the teaching. Your majesty, just remember all those works of merit accomplished by you even to this day, happiness will be (with you) quickly.' [1]

4. When the king heard this he was glad at heart and said: 'In the struggle with death you are indeed a support, Revered sir.' And (the king), receiving consolation, commanded that the Book of Meritorious Deeds be read aloud. The scribe read aloud the Book of Meritorious Deeds thus:

'Ninety-nine monasteries have been built by the great king, and also the Maricavaṭṭi monastery with ninety-nine crores (of money). The splendid Brazen Palace was built at a cost of thirty crores. The precious things made for the great relic shrine were worth twenty-four (crores). The rest of the precious things again made by you who are wise in regard to the great relic shrine were worth a thousand crores, Your majesty. In the mountain-region called Koḷamba, at the time of *Akkhakhāyika* famine,[2] two precious ear-rings were given (by the king), and thus was obtained a nice dish of sour millet-gruel which he with believing heart offered to five great cankerwaned Elders. When, vanquished in the battle of Cūlaṅgaṇiya, he was fleeing, he announced the (meal-) time, and to the cankerwaned ascetic (Tissa) who came there through the air, he, without care for himself, gave the food from his bowl.' Thus did (the scribe) read aloud the Book of Meritorious Deeds.[3]

5. When the king heard this he rejoiced and said: 'Wait, wait, Revered sir.' And he proceeded thus: 'In the week of the honouring of the Maricavaṭṭi monastery, as in the week when the (great) relic shrine was begun, a great and costly offering was arranged by me for the two Orders (of monks and nuns) from the four quarters. I held twenty-four great Vesākha-festivals. Three times did I give robes to the great Order of monks in Tambapaṇṇi island. Five times, each time for seven days, did I bestow the overlordship of Laṅkā upon the teaching. In twelve places have I kept burning perpetually a thousand lamps with white wicks moistened by ghee. In eighteen places have I bestowed constantly through the physicians medicaments and food for the sick. And in forty-four places have I given lumps of rice with oil, and in as many places have I bestowed perpetually 'net-cakes' cooked in ghee and also therewith the (ordinary) rice. I have had oil for the lamps distributed on observance days, the eighth of month in all monasteries in the island of Laṅkā. Since I heard that a gift (by preaching) of the doctrine is superior to a material gift, I seated in the preach-

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1 Cf. *ibid.*, XXXII, vv. 21–23.

2 Lit., famine during which the nuts called *akkha* (*Terminalia Bellerica*) are eaten, which at other times are used as dice, see *Mahāvaṃsa Transln.*, p. 222, note 6.

3 Cf. *Mahāvaṃsa*, XXXII, vv. 26–32.

er's seat in the Brazen Palace, attempted to expound the *Maṅgalasutta*,[1] but could not expound it out of reverence for the Order. Since then have I had the preaching of the doctrine made in every monastery, giving rewards to the preachers. To each preacher of the doctrine did I cause to be given a *nāḷi* of clarified butter, molasses and sugar, a handful of liquorice, four inches long, and a pair of garments on the eight *uposatha* days of the month. In spite of all this giving while I ruled, my heart does not rejoice. Only the two gifts that I gave, without care for my life, in my adversity, gladden me.'[2]

6. [3] When the Elder Abhaya heard this he said: 'Your majesty, you rejoiced over things fit for rejoicing. And those two gifts of alms were great on these five grounds: Because of the proper requisites obtained (by you) without hurting others, because it was given away unhesitatingly without care for yourself, because it was given away pleasing the recipients, because it was given away with strong faith producing joy and gladness, and because the gift was turned entirely to use. Your majesty, when those Elders who received the sour millet-gruel, and the Elder Maliyamahādeva[4] had given thereof to five hundred monks on the Samantakūṭa-(mountain),[5] he ate it. The Elder Dhammagutta, who could cause the earth to quake, having given thereof to the five hundred monks in the Kalyāṇī monastery, (then) ate it. And the Elder Dhammagutta,[6] dwelling in Talaṅgara, having given thereof to twelve thousand monks in Piyaṅgudīpa, (then) ate it. The Elder Cūḷatissa, who dwelt in Maṅgana, gave thereof to sixty thousand monks in the Keḷāsakūṭa monastery and (then) ate it. And the Elder Mahābhagga[7] gave thereof to seven hundred monks in the Ukkānagara monastery and (then) ate it. But the Elder who received the food in a dish gave thereof to twelve thousand monks in Piyaṅgudīpa, and (then) made use of it.' Speaking thus (the thera Abhaya) gladdened the king's heart. The king, rejoicing in his heart, spoke thus to the Elder: 'Revered sir! During my reign of twenty-four years have I been a great patron of the Order of monks. Let my body also be of help to the Order. In a place whence the great shrine may be seen, in the circular enclosure for (ceremonial) acts of the Order, do you burn my body, a servant of the Order.'

Thereupon addressing his younger brother the king said: 'Dear Tissa, complete well the unfinished work on the great relic shrine. Evening and morning offer flowers at the great relic shrine and three times (a day) command a ceremonial offering. All manner of alms-giving introduced by me do you carry on minimizing nothing. Be earnest at all times in your duties towards the Order.' When the king had thus exhorted him, he became silent.

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[1] *Sutta-Nipāta*, pp. 46-7.
[2] Cf *Mahāvaṃsa*, XXXII, vv. 33–47.
[3] *Ibid.*, vv. 48ff.
[4] *Mahavaṃsa* reads Malaya-, 32, 49.
[5] *Mahāvaṃsa* reads *Sumanakūṭa-*, 32, 49. Buddha visited this hill and left his footprints there; cf. *Dāṭhāvaṃsa* (ed. B. C. Law), Ch. II, v. 23.
[6] In the *Mahāvaṃsa*, the name occurs as *Dhammadinna*, 32, 52.
[7] *Mahāvaṃsa* reads *Mahāvyaggha*, 32, 54.

At that moment the monks began to recite (the doctrine) in chorus. But *devatās* from the six *deva*-worlds (came) with six chariots and when they had placed these in a row, each of them implored the king to come to his own *deva*-world, saying: 'Your majesty, delightful is our *deva*-world.' When the king heard their words he refused them with a gesture of his hand, saying: 'Wait as long as I listen to the doctrine.' The Order, thinking: 'He is forbidding the recital in chorus', had the recital stopped. The king asked: 'Why do you stop the recital in chorus, Revered sirs?' 'Because you restrained us with a gesture of your hand, Your majesty.' 'Revered sirs, I did not mean the gesture for you; *devatās* have brought six chariots from the six *deva*-worlds and each of them implores me to go to his own *deva*-world. So I made a gesture saying: "Wait as long as I listen to the doctrine."' When the people heard this, some of them thought: 'Frightened at the fear of death this king talks confusedly; there is indeed not a being who is not afraid of death.'

7. Thereupon the Elder Abhaya said: 'O great king! how could one believe that six chariots were brought from the six *deva*-world?' When the king heard this he had wreaths of flowers flung into the air. These went and severally hung themselves on the poles of the chariots. When the multitude saw the wreaths of flowers hanging in the air they were no longer doubtful. Thereupon the king asked the Elder: 'Which of the *deva*-worlds is delightful, Revered sir?' 'The Tusita abode, Your majesty, is delightful. Looking forward to the time of his Buddhahood the Bodhisatta Metteyya also dwells there', said (the Elder). When the king heard this he settled there as his abode and as he lay looking at the great relic shrine he passed away, and was reborn, as though awakened from sleep, in the chariot that had been brought from the Tusita abode. And to make manifest to the multitude the reward of the merit accomplished by him, did he, adorned with celestial ornaments, standing on the chariot, and having passed in the very presence of the multitude three times around the great relic shrine keeping it to his right side, and having also done homage to the Order of monks, go away to the Tusita abode.

'Thus the wise, always removing attachment to the worthless accumulation of riches and showing generosity towards the Three Jewels, proceed to a happy state with what is essential.'

8. (And) the dancing-women knowing that the king was dead, stood wherever they were and took off their crests. In that place there was a hall built and called Makuṭamuttasālā. (And) where the multitude, when the body of the king was laid on the funeral pyre, broke into wailing with their hands outstretched, there a hall was built called Vīravitthasālā.[1] The circular enclosure outside the boundary (of the monastery), in which they burnt the body of the king, was known by the name of Rājamālaka (the king's circular enclosure).

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[1] *Mahāvaṃsa* reads *Ravivaṭṭisālā*, 32, 79.

Thereafter did the king's younger brother Saddhātissa become the great king, and when he had had completed the unfinished work in the shrine on the parasol and the plaster-work, he made an offering.

Here ends the account of the great shrine in the Legend of the Topes compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the believing people.

EPILOGUE

The father of the great king Duṭṭhagāmaṇi Abhaya of the present time, King Kākavaṇṇatissa, will be the father of the Blessed Metteyya; Vihārāmahādevī will be his mother; Duṭṭhagāmaṇi Abhaya will be his chief disciple; the younger brother (of Abhaya) will be his second disciple; the king's father's sister Anulādevī will be his chief queen; the king's son Prince Sālirāja, will be his son; the royal treasurer and minister-in-charge of the Order will be his chief attendant; the daughter of that minister will be his chief female attendant. And in this way all who have rendered services and have become fit for the attainment (of Arahantship), when they have listened to the doctrine of that Blessed One and have made an end of their ill, will pass away entirely to the sphere of *Nibbāna* without any substratum (for existence) remaining.

And as far as this—In a cell, called the Mahindasena, I lived with alms-bowl, robe and so forth, well versed in the three Piṭakas, endowed with the virtues of faith and morality, devoted to the welfare of all beings, and the Legend of the Topes which I, then being requested by the pious, began (to write) has now reached its completion free from confusion, complete in itself, profitable in every way and admired by the wise. Whatever merit I have obtained by the accomplishment of this good deed, may the beings be appeased with it. And just as the Legend of the excellent Topes has reached completion without obstacle, even so let the desired objects of the people depending on the good doctrine be swiftly fulfilled. For him who, wishing the uplift of the good doctrine, composed well a Ṭīkā, called the *Līnatthadīpanī* of the *Paṭisambhidāmagga*, for him who, being possessed of the knowledge of the doctrine, likewise carefully produced well the commentary on the (book) *Saccasaṅkhepa* from the Sinhalese language, for him who, for the benefit of the saints made the commentary on the *Visuddhimaggasaṅkhepa* from the Sinhalese language, for him who has been in charge of the hall for religious discussion of King Parakkama, lord of men, and is proficient in the three Piṭakas, for him among whose Bhikkhu pupils the teaching is well established, this (book) is written by the elder Vācissara (by name).

Here ends the Legend of the Topes.

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